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A LITERARY HISTORY
OF THE ITALIAN PEOPLE



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JOSEPH SPENCER KENNARD

A LITERARY HISTORY
OF THE
ITALIAN PEOPLE

BY

Joseph Spencer Kennard



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First Printing.

To

My Wife

Voi mi date a parlar tutto baldezza
Voi mi levate sì, ch'io son più ch'io
Paradiso, XVI, 16.

Introduction

A COMPLETELY adequate history of the Italian people would require a careful consideration of all the forces which transformed ancient Rome into Italy. It would explain how invading barbarians became Italians, how pagan Italy became Christian Italy, and how early Christianity became the Roman Catholic Church. Such a history would show how Church and Empire, popes and kings conflicted, how feudalism, Italian despots, Guelphs and Ghibellines, papal temporal power and foreign domination made a truly national Italian State impossible. All these subjects play their part in the age-long evolution of the Italian people.

Early Italian literature was composed in Latin. In the next literary period two lingual streams flowed side by side: some authors used Latin, some writers preferred Italian, and many wrote both in Latin and in Italian. When Roman and barbarian blood had blended, when Roman and barbarian mentality had fused, when oriental Christianity had permeated all classes, within the same geographical boundaries a dying race worshiped at pagan altars, an age-stricken, decadent civilization, literature and world-empire survived, and at the same time a new race, a new civilization, a new literature, a new religion, a new political power had arisen. Rome had become Italy, Romans had become Italians.

That which once was Roman became Italian through protracted, tortuous and obscure evolution. When the barbarian invaders became so Italianized as to assert their Romanity, Italian patriotism began. When Romanized Goths and Lombards felt themselves superior to more recent invaders, Italianism made a further step forward. The imperial colossus crumbled, the pagan halo paled, and the kingdoms built by Theodoric and Charlemagne were Italian rather than Roman, and though popes claimed temporal as well as spiritual dominion, the people still considered themselves Romans, living within a Roman state. This persisting idea of Rome destroyed Goth and Lombard kingdoms and stifled attempts for national coali-

tion, but it conserved the intellectual heritage which Rome had received from Athens, from Jerusalem and the Orient and transmitted it with new interpretations to the modern world.

This Roman survival in the language, the laws, and the civil institutions dominated Church and State. From Theodoric to Otto III, Roman law ruled the world. From the days of Constantine the Roman church imposed authority on kings and emperors. Italy alone possessed the heritage of Rome; Italy alone preserved the Roman spirit. To a world renewed by the Renaissance, Italy transmitted that which was Roman. Italian hands passed that sacred torch from age to age. Neither religious fanaticism nor bloody wars could quench its light. Flabby rhetoric, decadent poetry, pedantic philosophy, feeble candle-ends, illuminating pedestrian erudition; a rhyming versifier, a writer composing frozen epitaphs; the torch passed from Claudian to Boethius, from Cassiodorus to Paul the Deacon.

Other nations burned that which once they had adored, bent heads and joined hands before a foreign conqueror, stammered victorious songs to Roland in language almost French, the prowess of Beowulf in language almost English, and the patriarch of Constantinople burned books of profane science; but Italians preserved antiquity. A school that refused to die, a manuscript piously preserved, an inscription upon a wall, a dry chronicle, a panegyric of bombastic style, of doubtful syntax and hobbling phrases, they all carried classic thought through the barbarous centuries to that harbor of refuge where the Renaissance under a glorious banner displayed it to a world renewed. Without Italian tenacity there would have been no Renaissance and without the Renaissance there would have been no modern civilization.

The Church's part in this conservation of the past has been variously estimated. Some see Benedictine monks copying ancient manuscripts, popes and bishops encouraging early art and early poetry, abbots and monks exemplifying the Benedictine tradition. Others behold indomitable frustration; St. Jerome's anathemas, St. Gregory's proscriptions, the destruction of antique codes. Obscurantism or enlightened protection, which? The reality cannot be reduced to a formula. An ignorant and carnal Church may have failed to give necessary support to letters, but it is certain that Italian scholars saved the Graeco-Latin language and thought, the Roman law and institutions.

A literary history of the Italian people should reflect these successive phases of the Italian social conscience and also depict the changing life through these centuries of national evolution. Such a history should not conceal the crudities and cruelties of this national life; such a history should portray the historical background. It is a history of the Italian People which we have attempted to write, and not a history of Italian literature. It is a history in which men and women should stand huge and important, made massive by direct and simple declaration. It is a history which will attempt a reconstruction of the Italian soul; out of the hiding and victorious dust will come the resurgence of a pictured mosaic—composed, it is true, of broken and discolored fragments, and rarely shining with antique luster. A history which reveals how Italy has given civilization, religion, law, literature, and philosophy to Western Europe and to lands beyond the seas. A literary history in which the hour, the place, the author, and his book interpret one another and together interpret the Italian People.

An historian and his readers must realize that reality never is impersonal and that it is the author's idiosyncrasy which should govern his selection of facts, the author's personality which should paint his picture, and that from the author's own lamp must come his illumination. In order to bring this history within the physical limits imposed by the publisher, it has seemed wise to begin with the Year of Our Lord 1000. Even when thus limited, the author has been constrained to omit much, to compress more, and sometimes to appear dogmatical and superficial; but he believes that his every idea is a fragment of realization, and that, though his goal has not been reached, it has been kept continuously in view.

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CHAPTER I

Eleventh Century

PICTURE to yourselves the sunrise of the first day of the year 1000. Call to mind that for the generations emerging from the tenth century, this sunrise on New Year's morn was almost a miracle and the promise of a new life. The term of the Etruscan prophecy dating from the birth of Rome; the early return of Jesus to carry the quick and the dead with him to heaven announced by Paul to the early Christians; the near approach of the Last Judgment that Gregory the Great derived from the iniquity and devastation of his day: all these portents and predictions were joined at the end of the Christian millennium into one ghastly terror. A thousand and no more than a thousand, it had been said by Jesus. According to tradition Satan was to be loosed after a thousand years. So ran the Apocalypse.

Was it not in fact legitimate to recognize the signs described by the seer of Patmos in the iniquities of the tenth century, the breaking up of the monarchy into feudal factions, the abjection of the Christian pontificate, and the tumultuous incursions of the horrible barbarians? Already there were rumors of monstrous births and of great battles fought in the sky by unknown warriors riding upon dragons. On account of all this, never has there been a century so torpid, base, and cowardly as the tenth. What importance could nature, country, and human society have upon those destined to die; from hour to hour expecting the presence of Christ the Judge? To be baptized and prepare for death was the whole of life. Some sought as pilgrims the Vale of Jehoshaphat near Jerusalem, so as to be nearer, as they watched for the blast of the last trump.

And what bewilderment of joy and what a cry was raised to heaven by the silent groups gathered around the feudal manors, cowering and weeping in the dark churches and cloisters, or scattered with pale faces and subdued whispers about the open places and countryside, when the sun, eternal fount of light and life, rose triumphantly on the morning of the year 1000! The sun! The sun! There is still a fatherland! The world! And Italy stretched her limbs, huddled up

from the frost of night, and drew from her head the veil of asceticism to look toward the East.

Thus in a page of unique beauty Carducci has described the joy, the exultation of the Christian world, awakening after the fatal date of 1000 to find that the dreaded destruction had been nothing but a horrid dream. Historical criticism considers this fright existed chiefly in the writings of some solitary monk. Yet Carducci's picture is true. Whether the preceding night had been troubled by the nightmare of millennial doom or tormented by the miseries of mediaeval misrule, the eleventh century is a century of revival. A new epoch in Italian history begins, in which the Church, the empire, and the commune, though often conflicting, sometimes hindered, sometimes inspired, Italian intellectual progress. In Sicily a famous book of geography, the *libro de Ruggero*, was compiled; at Rome, the Imperial School of Arts and Jurisprudence; at Pavia, the royal Lombard School; at Ravenna, the interpretation of the books of Justinian; at Bologna, the study of civil law—all these preserved something of the spirit of ancient Rome. Many Italian cities were achieving some independence. Genoa was protected by the mountains, Venice was secure in her lagoons, Pisa had its fleet, both Gaeta and Amalfi possessed a flourishing commerce, and the Salerno medical school was famous before the year 1000.

The Roman Catholic Church is the first essential element in the Italian life of the eleventh century. Starting from Jerusalem, where Jesus had lived and taught and died and the great Apostles had received the Holy Ghost, and passing by Antioch and Alexandria, the Church came to Rome. When pagan Rome became Christian in name, the appeal of paganism remained and was turned to account in establishing the papacy. The Cross was planted in the Coliseum, bones were carried into the Pantheon, Vesta's temples were dedicated to Mary, pagan gods lived again as saints, deities of the Germanic woods became demons and monsters; the mimes in the squares were reblessed in the vestibules of the churches and received into the celebration of the mass; the gentile poets were proscribed, but the saints wore their garments; pagan philosophy supported church dogma, and pagan science was robed in the cowl of theology. Thus pagan Rome passed into Roman papacy, and without the Roman papacy there would have been no Roman Catholic Church.

To the pagan mind Rome meant "universality" and "perpetuity."

Rome, *caput terrarum* and *caput rerum*, now became *caput ecclesiae*. The names "pontiff" and "pope" were now reserved to the bishops of Rome. This claim of supremacy was disputed. Constantine claimed the title of *pontifex maximus*. Costanzo claimed to be both pope and emperor. In the synod of Milan of 355 he astounded the bishops with the *placito*, "*Canone e la mia volonta*." Nevertheless the Church grew strong. Spiritual supremacy belonged to the Imperial City. And yet, though the Western Empire, the claims of the Greek patriarchs, the hated Byzantine despotism, and the Langobard oppression had ceased forever, on that Christmas Day of the year 800 in the basilica of St. Peter's, when Pope Leo III placed the imperial crown on the head of Charlemagne, the Pope still was the Emperor's vassal. But that was the Roman Catholic Church of the ninth century. Now we are in the eleventh century, and this Roman Catholic Church of Hildebrand (Pope Gregory VII) is a Romanized and paganized ecclesiastical institution, which claimed supreme temporal as well as supreme spiritual power.

This eleventh century Roman church favored the communes or invaded them, canonized the learned or burned them, cherished literature or placed it on the *Index expurgatorius*, and arrogated to itself the preservation of ancient civility. This assumption of supreme temporal power by the Roman church prevented Italy from becoming an Italian nation. This notion of a universal Latin tongue hindered the early development of an Italian language.

History and literature are sinuous currents wandering diversely to the sea, yet somewhere on their journey they join to form one great stream. In preserving the Roman inheritance the Church acquired lasting merit. Europe escaped Byzantinism because the Latin church opposed iconoclasm. Treasures of antiquity, books, arts, and science were saved, because it was natural for the Roman church to assimilate rather than destroy, to adapt rather than combat. Through all the invasions, the Church preserved its canonical law, which complemented the Justinian code. This standard of justice opposed the individualism of Northern barbarians. Ecclesiastic immunities formed a bulwark against feudal tyranny; exemptions granted to bishops often presaged a city charter.

In the evolution of every society the clash between theocratic and monarchic rule is the earliest, the most decisive, the most unavoidable phase. The conflict for investitures which now shook the Chris-

tian world affected universal history, permeated Italian literature, and sapped the foundation of authority. Italy was the battlefield. Three great dangers threatened the Church. Against armed German emperors, the papacy opposed armed Normans; to the peril of Eastern schism the popes opposed diplomacy; against the tide of new philosophical ideas the Church insisted on its absolute authority in theology. In Italy, in this eleventh century, imperial theocracy reflected monarchy; with its cardinals, bishops, legates and embassies. The orderly arrangement of magnificent rites exceeds the pomp of empire. Ecclesiastical imperialism found its great champion in Hildebrand, Pope Gregory VII, who shifted this claim of universal dominion to the spiritual realm, while he restricted the privilege of papal election to the cardinals. Hildebrand realized that if the appointment of the higher clergy could be vested entirely in the papacy, the bishops, archbishops, and abbots of convents—since they owed their existence to Rome—would be subject to the Pope's slightest wish.

A curious document found among Hildebrand's manuscripts forms the platform of his party, and asserts:

1. That the Roman church was founded by God alone.
2. That the Roman bishop [pontifex] alone is properly called *Universalis*.
3. That he alone may depose bishops and reinstate them.
4. That his legate takes precedence of all bishops in council, and may give sentence of deposition against them.
5. That the Pope may depose [bishops] in their absence.
6. That we may not even stay in the same house with those who are excommunicated by the Pope.
7. That he alone may use the insignia of empire.
8. That the Pope is the only person whose feet are kissed by all princes.
10. That he bears a name which is unique in the world.
11. That he may depose emperors.
13. That he may, when necessary, transfer bishops from one see to another.
16. That no synod may be regarded as a general one without his consent.
17. That no scripture [capitulum] and no book may be called canonical without his authority.

18. That his decree may be annulled by no one, but that he alone may annul the decrees of all.
19. That he may be judged by no one.
20. That no one may dare to condemn a person who appeals to the apostolic see.
22. That the Roman church has never erred, nor ever, by the witness of scripture, shall err, to all eternity. [In perpetuum]
26. That he may not be considered catholic who does not agree with the Roman church.
27. That the Pope may absolve the subjects of the unjust ruler from their allegiance.

From this scheme it is clear that Hildebrand's policy was the subjugation of every earthly power to the final arbitration of Rome. Such an ideal was utterly opposed to chivalric civilization and the feudal system.

Hildebrand has a large place in Italian history because he is Roman in the greatness of his Caesarian conception of universal church dominion. His commanding spirit gathered together all the prevailing forces of his day, and compelled them to accept the idea of a central theocratic monarchy. Vividly does Carducci picture him, "A Tuscan and of the people." He appears in history "like one of the Cyclopean walls of the Etruscan cities near which he was born; in the shock of the encounter with him, the German halberds shivered to splinters; and the wrath of the Salic Emperor foamed in impotence at his feet." He and his immediate successors made the papacy the supreme power of the Middle Ages. The will of the Pope is the will of God. Innocent III (Lotario Segni, 1198-1216) calls himself vicar of Christ, no longer vicar of Peter. The Pope is the supreme judge of the earth. The Emperor is the creature of the Pope. Otto IV (d. 1218), crowned by Innocent III, was called "King of the Romans by the grace of God and of the Pope." The popes ruled as secular princes with the title of pope and king. The Roman see became a monarchy, with the cardinals serving as a senate, and with a mercenary army in the Normans.

The test of the working of the Lateran decrees came upon the death of Nicholas II (1061). The Roman nobility begged the Emperor's regent in the name of the young king to nominate the new pope. The regent hesitated. Meanwhile Hildebrand, without consulting the Empress regent or the Roman party, carried through the

election of Anselmo as Alexander II (Anselmo da Baggio, 1061–1073). The German Council assembled at Basel declared the young king to the *Patricus* of Rome, rejected Pope Alexander II, and elected Bishop Cadalus of Parma, who called himself Honorius II. Thus the issue was clearly defined.

Hildebrand's assertion that his own election (1073) was a spontaneous outburst of affection on the part of the Romans is not accurate. The election was a tumultuous affair, hastily settled without consultation with the imperial power. A bishop of Bamberg, the abbots of Fulda and Lorsch in Germany, the bishops of Spoleto, Fermo, and Milan in Italy—all received their investiture from Henry IV. Lombard bishops elected Wilbert of Ravenna, as rival pope. Schism in the Empire, schism in the papacy. Accompanied by the anti-pope, Henry crossed the Alps for the second time. Lombardy and Ravenna received him, Tuscany made no resistance, and Henry found himself at the gates of Rome. At last in the spring of 1084 the Romans admitted Henry into the city, and Wilbert the anti-pope was with him. The new Pope for his first act crowned the King and Queen with the imperial insignia. Pope Gregory held the castle of St. Angelo until rescued by Robert Guiscard. The Norman deliverers entered the city by treachery and began such a carnival of violence as Rome had not seen since the time of the Ostrogoths. Gregory VII left Rome under Norman protection and died on May 15, 1085, a broken-hearted man. "I have loved justice and hated iniquity, therefore I die in exile" were the last words of the greatest man of his time.

This conflict between Hildebrand and the emperors was of but little importance to Italy. The direction of her evolution led neither to monarchy nor to theocracy. A new element entered into the conflict between Church and Empire: the people; and the Italian people realized that the Italian mission was the continuation of Roman traditions. A third force determining the direction of the country was the Italian university, which pronounced neither for Church nor for Empire, but declared that the old Roman law was the supreme authority. Although neither the Italian university nor the Italian commune opposed Empire or Church, the very fact that these two institutions existed and prospered challenged the pretensions of the two authorities which claimed to be omnipotent and universal.

In Italy the national myth always was borrowed from ancient

Rome. Every city had its legend about some Trojan or Greek ancestor. As Carducci writes in one of his eloquent passages: "See how all the cities love to confide their origin to the protection of the great name of Rome. Harken to the song of the Modenese sentinels guarding the city from the Huns, with its remembrance of Hector's watch over Troy; lend your ears to the stories of the Florentine women about Fiesole and Rome, and to the names of Catiline and Caesar grafted into the origin of the Guelphic city; consider the Latin rhapsody of the Pisan victory over the Saracens, declaring that it recalls the memory of the ancient Romans and the Carthaginian war; contemplate Florence jealously preserving the torso of her Mars, Milan watchful lest her Hercules be overthrown; observe Padua showing the tomb of Antenor, Mantua stamping Virgil's image on her coins and singing his name in the sacred offices of the Church, and the fishermen of Messina renewing each year the procession of Saturn and Rhea." These three antagonistic elements—the ecclesiastical, the chivalric, and the national—must be considered in any literary history of the Italian people. From Arnaldo to Savonarola, from Francesco d'Assisi to Filippo Neri, from the Landolfi to Machiavelli, from the translation of the *Tavola rotonda* to Ariosto, to Dante, to Tasso; from Bandello to Folgore da San Gimignano, to Berni; from Albertano to Castiglione, from Nicolo Pisano and Cimabue to Michelangelo, to Tiziano—there is perpetuity, continuity, and progress.

A date and ten words record the devastation of the city of Pisa by the Saracens in 1004; a short sentence chronicles the victory of the Genoese and Pisan fleet over the Saracens in 1016. Yet what glorious horizons these Pisan annals reveal! Pisa vanquishes the Saracens and Sardinians, assails Bona and Palermo, destroys Almadia and Seville, flings herself against the Sicilian and African coasts, attacks pirates and reconquers the sea. From the time of Theodoric the centuries are almost silent about the Venetians. At the dawn of the *Mille*, Venice became a warrior state. In 998 her fleet drove the pirate navy out of Dalmatia. Byzantines turned to Venice for help, and although Venice was defeated at Corfu, the victory cost her enemies dear. The Emperor Alexius Comnenus made profuse promises to the Venetians. A *crisobolo* of 1083 permitted Venice freely to trade throughout the Empire.

Quietly working their way up out of the wreck of all Europe, Ital-

ian communes recovered rights and regalia from the bishops of the towns and fought the feudatories in the country, and compelled them to become citizens and to live within the walls. Thus the communes became a third power between the Empire and the papacy. Arnolfo's eleventh century "*Gesta Archiepiscoporum Mediolanensium*" is the history of Milan from the time of Arduino's reign to the moment when the commune was recognized. Arnolfo writes as an aristocrat. He declares that Ariberto d'Intimiano (d. 1045) rules like a dictator, scorning papal excommunication and imperial threats, while he built the fortifications of the city and formed a powerful popular army. The "*Historia Mediolanensis*" of Landolfo il Vecchio also defended the aristocratic high-clergy party. Landolfo hated popular reforms and slandered his opponents. There were two hundred jurists in Milan and four hundred notaries, two hundred physicians and fifty "writers of books," besides the eighty honored with the title of "*magister scholarum qui pueros instruunt*," three hundred nobles, and three hundred thousand citizens. Landolfo describes how noble Lanzone led the popular party and obtained the recognition of the Milanese charter by the Diet of Roncaglia in 1055.

Landolfo di San Paolo (or *il Giovine*), the third of these Milanese chroniclers, lived amidst the religious-social unrest after the war waged by the greater nobles and the higher ecclesiastics, against the lesser clergy who joined with the people. It was Pope Gregory's fight for a church, "chaste, free and Catholic," against a simoniac-corrupted clergy ruled by the Emperor or by some feudal baron, who disposed of ecclesiastic livings by right of investiture. For proclaiming these opinions Landolfo was seized by the archbishop in 1075, shut in a dungeon, and his nose and ears were chopped off. A few years later he became canon of San Paolo with the right to transmit his canonry to his favorite nephew. The history of Landolfo *il Giovine* mirrored the feelings of the plain people, and it is full of minute information.

The little that is known of Lanfranc (1005-1089) comes from Milone Crispino's biography, and Crispino is excessively concise. Lanfranc was born at Pavia of a noble family and studied law. A sad adventure in Normandy induced Lanfranc to renounce the world and enter the convent of Bec. This already famous grammarian, jurist, and dialectician now became the greatest theologian of his time. Less than three years after his conversion, Lanfranc was taken to England by William the Conqueror, and as primate of Canterbury

he was directed to purge the English church of its vices and ignorance. Legend quickly possessed itself of the figure of Lanfranc. Was Lanfranc indeed the author of a literary renaissance in the British Isles and in France? What was the condition of French schools in France during the first half of the *Mille*? Most of Lanfranc's works have been lost, only the *Liber de corpore et sanguine Domini* remains. B. Hauréau agrees with Maurini that Lanfranc was not the founder of the *Scholastica*. Also he denies that he had any real influence on contemporary philosophy. Berengar of Tours (998–1088), on the contrary, was a true philosopher. Lanfranc and Berengar represent two conflicting ideals, authority as impersonated by the Church and liberty as represented in philosophy. Berengar rejects thought-shackles, ignores tradition; Lanfranc always remained loyal to the Church.

Heresy in the Middle Ages did not oppose the established religion. Heretics of the first hour were ultra-Catholic churchmen, determined to restore primitive Christianity, and, since religious movements in Italy have never been purely ecclesiastical, every Church reform was mixed with a demand for civil redress. Arialdo and Erlembaldo di Cotta were the leaders of this popular party. The Church finally recognized the reformers by giving to Erlembaldo the title and banner of *Gonfaloniere della Chiesa*, and Gregory V (996–999) confirmed Bishop Attone of the radical party. When these progressives joined the low clergy and the middle-class citizens in a demand for social justice, they became important and were named "*Pataria*," from their habit of reciting many "*Paters*," or from the term "*patee*"—a nickname for old-clothes merchants. Their leaders, the Cottas, Erlembaldo and Arialdo, were excommunicated, but they have since been canonized. Vainly did Alexander II and Gregory VII try to conciliate the factions.

The election of the Lombard prince Arduino of Ivrea as king of Italy by a diet of barons, in Pavia 1002, was not a nationalist but an anti-German act. Reliable information about Arduino (Ard) (987–1015) is scanty. Contemporary chroniclers have overlooked, later historians have amplified, his figure. A vassal rebel of the Empire for some; for others he was Italian independence personified. Both assertions are relatively true, as it is also true that the title of king of Italy was only revived more than eight centuries later; but the importance of these facts has been greatly exaggerated by Niccolini. By birth and

education Ard belonged to the feudal caste. At the court of Otto, he was Count Palatine, and commanded the marquise of Ivrea, which stretched from the Alps to Turin and comprised the strongholds of Vercelli, Aosta, and Turin and controlled all the principal passages of the Alps.

Of Langobard origin, in constant warfare with the bishops—charged with the murder of one, anathematized by another—Arduino summoned a diet (1036). When Ariberto refused to obey the Emperor's orders to attend the diet and answer some charge, Conrad ordered him to be seized and kept prisoner. The infuriated Milanese forgot party feeling, turned against the Emperor, rushed to arms and freed Ariberto, and the Ghibelline city from that moment turned Guelph, and so remained for centuries.

A new conflict began in 1042 when a nobleman struck a citizen, and again the conflagration burned fiercely. Ariberto refused to fight against his own class, and likewise refused to lead the nobles when they attacked the people. Lanzzone now became the leader. Although a noble, he was elected *capitano del popolo*. The plebeian party outnumbered their opponents ten to one. But steel armor and castellated dwellings were well-nigh invulnerable.

Thus it is seen that Italian literary history in the eleventh century is the history of contending ecclesiastical, feudal, and national elements. The conflict between Church and Empire extended from 1046 until September 1122, when in the presence of Pope Callixtus II and a great representation of German princes Henry V solemnly renounced all imperial prerogatives in the election of the bishops: "I Henry leave to God, to his Holy Apostles Peter and Paul, and to the Holy Catholic Church every investiture with the pastoral staff and the ring." Thus ended the great conflict between the Church and State which had torn the Empire for more than half a century.

And now occurs a strange and momentous intervention. When Pope Gregory VII proudly proclaimed that his universal lordship was founded upon the Gospel and the papacy raged against concubine-holding priests, the *Pataria*, *Paterini*, small tradesmen, craftsmen, the populace, all hastened to his support with ferocious arms.

Landolfo *il Vecchio's* chronicles commemorate the happy times before and after Ariberto, when the Milanese episcopal schools taught the liberal arts to both citizens and foreigners. In the atrium before the church of Sta. Maria, the children learned hymns; in the inner

atrium were schools of philosophy and of the liberal arts. Landolfo concludes that the Milanese clergy enjoyed a high reputation both at home and abroad. *In tantum enim in clericali habitu longa saeculi vetustate et usitatione, multis transactis temporibus, vultu, habitu, incessu erant nutriti, ut si alii quem chori ambrosiani totius in Burgundia aut in Teutonica aut in Francia litterarum studii deditum invenires, de huius ecclesiae usibus aliquantulum notus, sine mora huius esse ecclesiae affirmares.** The passage from paganism to Christianity and the influx of barbarians did not utterly destroy the continuity of instruction in grammar and law. Theodoric the Ostrogoth re-established municipal schools and lay schools, teaching grammar and classic literature. The study of law and the art of drawing legal documents and writing letters persisted in important Italian towns from the seventh to the eleventh century. Democratic communes required educated men to administer government. Elected judges necessitated some knowledge of jurisprudence. The titles given to teachers, *Grammaticus*, *scholasticus rhetor*, *philosophus*, are used indifferently; *doctores juris*, *legisperiti*, were almost equivalent. The *scriptor disciplinus*, who drew deeds and contracts, had probably spent some years in the grammar school as *puer* first, then as *auditor*; but he had no specialized training. Giesebrecht's affirmation that about the close of the *Mille* there began a marvelous scientific renaissance in Italy is not correct. Thousands of Italian students, wearing the short tunic of the Benedictines, went from one Italian school to another and even crossed over the Alps to study in France and in Germany. Any student could knock at a convent door and be sure of a bed and a meal, if he wore the Benedictine frock. The theological faculties in Paris attracted many clerics, and every student spoke and wrote Latin.

In the eleventh century Ravenna and her jurists always opposed the Roman Pope and favored the Franconian Emperors; and in the Ravennate school, Langobard Palatine teachers accommodated and codified Roman law in support of imperial legitimacy. Pietro Crasso in pleading for Henry IV against the Pope or against his rebel Saxons supported his opinions by quotations from the *Juilia et Plautia*. From Paul the Deacon to Liutprand, the Pavian school flourished. Lanfranc of Canterbury and Pier Damiani were among its famous pupils. From the time of Langobard kings, the *Domini Papiense*

* "*Historia Mediolanensis*," p. 71.

made and commented the royal edicts. How far this learning was Roman, how much of it remained Langobard, is matter of controversy. Doubtless the *antiqui* followed the Langobardian law. Probably the *moderni* compared the Langobard with the Roman law, but only to proclaim the Roman *lex omnium genera lis*. In the furious rivalry among Italian cities at that time, Pavia supported or opposed the emperors, as might seem likely to most injure Milan, and it was the enmity of Milan rather than the progress of Bologna which crushed the Pavian school.

From the blending of many races, Bologna developed a people of uncommon physical and intellectual vigor. In the eleventh century when the feudal barons were coming down from their castles and mingling with the urban Roman element, Bologna received from Ravenna the inheritance of the "Books." The Countess Matilda thought that she could here prepare a compliant support of papal claims against the Empire. But the Bolognese school declared that the only *Jus* was the integral Justinian code and that Roman law must govern. Irnerio is supposed to have begun his teaching in 1080 and he was living in 1118. His interpretations of the "Books" were adopted by all Latin tribunals. His *Glosses* are partly interlineal and partly marginal. The former illustrates the text, the latter is a running comment.

In the eleventh century, Rome suffered such sieges and devastations that little learning was produced and less preserved. Sylvester II died, perhaps by poison, leaving behind him little trace of his vast learning. Stephen IX, Alexander II, and Gregory VII were intellectual leaders, but learning could not flourish when each imperial coronation meant a massacre; when the barons of the Campagna ravaged, and followers of popes and anti-popes fought savagely. Even Gregory's Norman allies pillaged, and Crusaders spilled Christian blood along the streets of Rome. Yet even in these dark decades the art of choir-singing was cultivated; Gregorian antiphonaries were copied and performed—"Books of Anthems" and "Books of Response" have survived. The *Scola* remained a chapel-choir for the Roman basilicas. The choir boys sang without a book or any musical instrument, but for practice they had written copies and also a monochord instrument with which the director gave them the intonation.

Born in Ravenna towards 1007, a swineherd boy Pier Damiani studied jurisprudence and practiced public pleading. Towards 1023—

1025 while still a student in Parma, frightened by ecclesiastical and lay corruption, he retired to the hermitage of the Holy Cross at Fonte Avellana near Gubbio, a *Cenobium* founded by Romualdo, where hermits led lives of solitude. Here Pier Damiani brooded, here in apoplectic apostrophes he described the advent of Antichrist. Penance, silence, and the whip are his remedy for sin. He gives minute direction for the use of the *disciplina*.

Pier Damiani's contradictions are not duplicity. A scholar, he condemns learning; a quietist, he supports Hildebrand's thunderings. Preferring life in a cell, he spent long restless years in diplomatic intrigue in bustling courts. Damiani recognized the danger to his own soul while in the service of the Curia. To Desiderius, abbot of Montecassino, he writes, "He errs, Father, he errs indeed, who imagines he can be a monk and at the same time zealously serve the Curia." In 1057 Pope Stephen IX called Damiani from his beloved retreat of Fonte Avellana, to the secular glory of the Cardinalate. Damiani was faced by the problem of growing scholasticism. He declared that "human learning when applied to sacred subjects must wait like a servant on her mistress Theology." His "*Ghomorrhianus*" (*Liber Gomorrhianus*) (1049), a frightful description of clerical corruption, is dedicated to Leo IX (1049-1054). In serving the Pope, Damiani used the confessional arts to alienate Empress Agnes from her imperial son Henry IV; and in Worms in the year 1069, persuaded Henry IV to keep the wife whom he wished to divorce. Damiani died in Faenza in 1072, aged sixty-six.

The long conflict about investitures was not favorable to ecclesiastical learning. The mighty figure of Ariberto d'Intimiano towers high; but his activity was in connection with the emancipation of his own Milan. Benzoni, bishop of Abba in Piemonte, was sent to Rome by Empress Agnes who was regent for her son Henry. Benzoni fiercely attacked Hildebrand. Benzoni's Latin was bad; his taste was doubtful; his impertinence was unlimited; but he was a valiant warrior. The man who best impersonates the Italian scholar of this century is Anselmo di Besate, known as Anselmo *il Peripatetico*. How vivid is his portraiture of himself, and of the Milanese *chierici* and the archiepiscopal schools at the beginning of the century! Anselmo records that he is tall, handsome, well built, with a mien full of nobility, yet modest; his bearing, magnetic and composed—a man truly *vere plasma Dei*. From Milan, Anselmo went to Parma and frequented

the lectures of Drogo. Under the auspices of this *magistrissimus*, his mind opened to the most subtle researches, the most exquisite knowledge. Anselmo passed on to Reggio and then studied in foreign schools.

The *Rhetorimachia* is Anselmo's first fruit and is dedicated to Drogo. In the art of empty argumentation this *Rhetorimachia* attains to virtuosity. In Anselmo's hypothetical *Rotlando* he draws the idealized picture of himself, and a second pencil sketch of the Mr. Hyde which companionates every man. Anselmo does not repent; he regards himself in a mirror and seeks to reproduce this image. In the prologue to the second book of his *Rhetorimachia*, Anselmo dreams that he is transported into the Elysian Fields, where his noble features, majestic mien, betray him for a scion of the illustrious house of Besate. Departed relatives welcome him into the abode of bliss. These rejoicings are interrupted by the apparition of three beautiful maidens, impersonations of Grammar, Rhetoric, and Dialectic, who embrace Anselmo and entreat him to return with them to the world which needs him. Anselmo awakes and questions. If permitted the choice, would he have remained in the Elysian Fields or would he have returned to earth? He concludes that since he cannot live without Grammar, Rhetoric, and Dialectic, it is better to remain alive. Anselmo's *Rhetorimachia* reveals the ecclesiastical Italian world of the early eleventh century.

In the eleventh century South Italy offered checkered conditions. The Arab influence was vanishing. There was no connection of interest between Langobard princes in Capua, Benevento, and Salerno. Salerno, built and fortified by the Greeks and proudly named Troy, was a provocation. The Norman chronicles mention forty French pilgrims from the Holy Land coming to Salerno in 1016 and helping Guiamar defeat the Saracens, then resuming their journey home. Normans fought as mercenaries under Langobard princes of the South. They campaigned under Melo of Bari when he revolted against the Greeks (1016), and in 1026 Henry II granted them some little fiefs.

The Hautevilles, a Norman family of twelve brothers, began to arrive after 1030 and to obtain lands from several barons, in payment for military aid. William ("Iron Arm") de Hauteville, count of Puglia, was in 1042 the principal of these chiefs. These Normans, strong through their compact feudal system, were gathered into a

close union by Robert Guiscard. Half bandit, half feudal pirate, by marriage and by intrigue Robert won his way to power. Pope Nicholas II (1059-1061) recognized Robert as duke of Puglia and Calabria in 1059, with promise of the crown of Sicily; Richard of Aversa was also invested, as was Roger, a younger brother of Robert. Thus within five years, a band of land and cattle thieves became princes of the Holy Roman Empire.

When Pope Leo IX (1049-1054) had secured Benevento, he planned to seize these rich Norman provinces. With a few hundred Germans and some Italian troops he marched down the peninsula. At the very beginning of the battle Leo's Italian forces fled; the Germans were destroyed and the remnants of the papal army were astonished to see the Norman leaders approach and reverently kneel to the Pope and beg his forgiveness. The prisoner Pope was forced to accept terms so hard that this battle of Civitate has been called the Hastings of the South.

Salerno, the last of the Langobard states, had prospered for two hundred and thirty-seven years under the rule of her princes. Ships from every port came to her harbor; the city was rich in gold and silver cloth, and was provided with every magnificence. The Salernitan school of medicine was celebrated from the time of Horace. Its period of splendor dates from this eleventh century, when the school began the study of Arabian medical treatises and methods. Constantino Alro's translation created a great sensation. The *Liber aureos* was written by his disciple Giovanni Afflacio. The basis of Salernitanian medicine was diet. The Middle Ages considered the *Regimen Salernitarum*, or *Flos Medicinæ*, an infallible encyclopedia of medical science. No other medical book was so often printed, so often translated.

The Amalfitani maintained friendly relations with the Greek Empire, and were permitted to enter all Levantine ports as Greek subjects. In Constantinople a whole *Scala* (dock), an entire quarter of the city grouped around three Latin churches, was occupied by them. Amalfi magistrates were called imperial patricians, and sometimes dated their acts by the year of the reign of the Byzantine *basileis*. Guglielmo di Puglia writes of Amalfi as the richest mart in the world. But her treasures excited the cupidity of neighboring princes. When Gisulfo ascended the Salerno throne and warred against the Amalfitani, they turned to Robert Guiscard. In November 1073 Robert

entered the city and was recognized as lord. From this moment dates the city's decadence. The Greeks hated the Normans. Byzantium withdrew all support and bestowed her favors upon Venice. The Byzantine Emperor Alexius Comnenus decreed (1082) that every Amalfitano shop in Constantinople, or elsewhere in the Empire, must pay three *perperi* each year to the church of S. Marco in Venice.

The connection between the Italian and the Siculo-Arabic civilization and literature was real, though it is not easily traced. Scientific advance and progress in the arts can be measured, but who can unriddle the *primum mobile* of human thought and determine how it will affect the social conscience?

Ibn Hankal's description and other records of Sicilian conditions at the beginning of the eleventh century prove that Arabic was then spoken freely by many Italians. The Mussulman contribution to the material prosperity of Sicily may be discovered from books; and Sicilian knowledge of geography, astronomy, and mathematics owed much to the Arabs. Had Arab poetry influenced that of Sicily? Did the rhythm of the Arabian *kasida* find an echo in the ear of the Sicilian? In spite of the barriers of language and faith, does the sensual mannerism of Arabic poets linger in the song of Christian *trouvères*? This at least is certain: in the literary, the material, and moral evolution of Sicily, the Saracenic occupation left important traces.

Mussulman dominion in Sicily was tolerable and tolerant. There was no religious persecution to embitter the relations between victor and vanquished; no hatred prevented race blending. Islamic rule permitted a large individual liberty with strong civic protection, and racial miscegenation marked an increasing population. With the Saracens came lemons, oranges, cotton, the mulberry (the *gelso*)—that provided food for silkworms. Silk factories flourished, and there were numberless architectural monuments and a thousand delightful villas which the Norman conquerors spent twenty years in destroying. The most obvious Saracen contribution to the West was method. The Saracens were masters in experimental observation and deduction, and were the first to translate Greek books. Abn-Said Ibn Ibrahim was a Sicilian precursor of Avicenna, to whom his works have been attributed.

Abn Said's "Auxiliary to the Cure of Every Disease and Disorder" was the most complete treatise of its time. His "Hand Book of Simple

Medicants," in five volumes, one each for head, chest, organs of respiration, of digestion, and for the general constitution, is most practical. The "Book of Doctors" by the Sicilian Arab Ahmed Ibn Abd es Selam discusses every disease. It warns against the use of compound medicants. Ahmed's writings show wide acquaintance with ancient medical authors. First he gives their opinions, he then describes popular notions on the same subject, and lastly gives his own views; but he never presumes to decide any question.

The Koran—fount of all knowledge, origin of every law, chart of every government, code of morality—was also a textbook for grammarians and philologists. Among the learned scholars who commented on the text was Mazari, whose conclusions suggest the hypotheses of the scholastics. Mazari died in Tunis towards 1141. Another Arabo-Sicilian scholar was Sementar who recorded the wisdom he heard in his wide wanderings, and sought for perfection and sublime justice. Yet these genial spirits and original thinkers often are known only for their sentimental poems. This poetry has left its trace both in the courtly and in the popular verse of the Norman period. The favorite composition was the kasida, which sings of passionate love; but sometimes it becomes a patriotic epic poem. Ibn Feham's kasidas are pungent and sententious.

Omar Katil said, "All that was born belongs to death, man is but a hostage of death." Ibn sang of war and love. When the Normans conquered Sicily his kasida mourned the fall of his country. "If my country were free I would give all my life, my whole force with constant devotion to her; but how can my country be free when those who should have defended her were helpless in their discords, like the fingers of a palsied hand that move in different directions?" Ibn Ketta selected an anthology of these poems.

No consideration of the Norman conquest of South Italy and of Sicily should omit the Norman influence upon Italian literature. It was only at the end of the eleventh century and under the patronage of Normans that some valuable Italian histories were produced. Only the French translation of *L'Ystoire de li Norman et la Chronique de Robert Juiscard* survives. The original in Latin was written in Montecassino and exalts the great Norman chief Robert Guiscard. Goffredo Malaterra praises Roger of Sicily (1089-1111) for restoring Catholic worship in Sicily and for having set "the example of a good shepherd and reduced the religious orders under a rigid rule." Mala-

terra's record covers the whole history of the Hautevilles, and he accepts every legend and adds miraculous episodes. Other Norman writers recount the last Langobard wars, the last Greek opposition to the inflowing Norman tide. Guglielmo Appullo's versified history of the coming of the Normans into Italy is comparatively complete. Other writers have freely borrowed from his story.

Convents occupy an unimportant place in the history of Italian intellectual progress during this eleventh century. In the convent of Pomposa no intellectual emulation was stirred by the fame of the neighboring Ravenna and her university. When Gerbert (afterward Pope Sylvester II) became abbot of Bobbio, he found it sadly changed from its days of wealth and learning. Gerbert secured copies of ancient books from Rome, and employed an archivist and librarian to catalogue the manuscripts. This *Registrum* shows that the Bobbio library consisted chiefly of the classics, Cicero, and Demosthenes, and contained many codes of Roman law. The *Registrum* of the convent of Farfa is the collection of all the documents, acts, deeds, and decrees extant in Farfa. Fra Gregorio da Catino also wrote a "Defense of Imperial Rights," which is one of the cleverest pamphlets elicited by the quarrel of investitures.

Among Farfa's famous teachers were Petrus Grammaticus (1014) and Johannis the grammarian (1092). In 1060 classic studies were restored. But the most important Farfa work is the "*Chronicon Farfense*" which contains vast information about the privileges granted by Charlemagne, the exemptions decreed by his successors, the dates of imperial visits and imperial gifts, the value of convent lands, and the number of serfs that tilled them. The convent had lost its religious character and thrived like any other commercial association. The Abbey of Fruttuaria, founded by Arduino of Ivrea "under the direct patronage of God that therein men should live under the eye of God in all purity and love," gave abode to some distinguished scholars. Founded by Saint Benedict in 529, destroyed by the Langobards in 728 and again by the Saracens in 884, rebuilt in 950 as a religious republic or theocratic state, the convent of Montecassino looms large in this and the following century.

Montecassino, always honored by the Beneventan princes and later favored by the Norman barons, offered learned companionship and a better sense of security than the city universities. Pier Damiani had found the school in decline, and the pious monks busy only with the

copying of manuscripts. It improved when, toward the middle of the century, a prince of the house of Lorraine was elected abbot. Frederic of Lorraine, sent by Pope Leo IX (1049-1054) to deliver some secret message at the Eastern Court, had returned enriched by imperial gifts, which he buried in the cellars of Montecassino, and when he came to rule the convent he spent freely to increase its prestige. Afterwards when he became Pope Stephen IX (1057-1058), Frederic vainly asked the convent to return his money; but the empty coffers of the Vatican were not refilled. The convent prospered and the rebuilding of the basilica was achieved in five years. Pier Damiani was invited to attend its solemn inauguration and he described these festivities. Alphanus and Desiderius were received among its monks. Desiderius, of princely Lombard stock, was born to be monk, abbot, and finally Pope Victor III (1086-1087). The rebuilding and adorning of Montecassino by Desiderius is a notable episode in the history of art. The monastery became the home of theology and ecclesiastical policy. There law and medicine, grammar and classic literature, were studied.

Alphanus has left an enthusiastic poem describing the splendor of its buildings. A solemn event was this inauguration of the basilica in 1071. Ecclesiastic dignitaries and princes, cardinals, archbishops, forty-four bishops, invalid Pope Alexander II, and dark, wiry, all-powerful Cancelliere Hildebrand, his heir apparent, were present. The Langobard princes were there to honor their noble kinsman Desiderio (or Dauferio) of Salerno, the reigning abbot, later to become Pope Victor III (1086-1087). Roger and Robert Guiscard were there. Leone d'Ostia pens the splendor of the proceedings; Alphanus sings them in rhyme, describes the mosaics and bronze gates and tells how in the *scriptorium* the amanuenses and illuminators penned and brushed quaint illustrations, eager to repair past spoliations, dispersions, and flights. But something better was done in Montecassino than the copying and registering of ancient codes and documents. Science was cultivated. From Sicily and Africa and Byzantium, Hellenic thought came here to germinate and ripen under the enlightened encouragement of Abbot Desiderio, until he was called away to become pope.

Alberico di Montecassino, the continuator of Gonzzone, the precursor of Valla, is typical of the scholars who have gloried in their own scholarship and disdained the world because of the books they

had read. Theology, music, grammar, rhetoric, Alberico discussed ponderously. In his treatise on rhetoric he writes: "May this new nectar not be poured in vain; may the spirit touched by Phoebus' rays, call forth blossoms of flowers; here Alberico soars on the flight which will bring him the palm. Let his adversaries stand dumb-founded in admiration and confusion." Leo Marsicanus was *bibliotecario* of the convent of Montecassino. His *Registrum* is free from religious intent, and is well written. Now Arabic science flowed in and taught new methods of scientific experimentation. The world of thought, searching for new philosophies, was met halfway by the experimental observation of Eastern scientists. In this Italian intellectual evolution Montecassino was the connecting link between Sicily and the rest of Italy.

Constantine Afro was born in Carthage; he drank deep from the science of Egypt and then journeyed to India, the cradle of philosophy. After thirty-nine years he returned to Carthage, where he was hooted by the rabble, disapproved by the orthodox Moslem; and about 1060 he fled to Italy in beggar's garb. In the streets of Salerno he was recognized by a brother of the Egyptian Sultan, introduced to Robert Guiscard, and wandered to Montecassino, where he certainly dwelt; and for his companions in the Montecassino convent he translated many manuscripts from the Arabic and the Greek. We have already recorded how by the eleventh century Salerno had become famous for its medicine, and there is little doubt that Constantine brought to Salerno the novel medical knowledge which he had gained in Africa from Arabian sources.

Friar Donizone of the convent of Canossa had lived all his long life in Canossa in proximity to his heroine, the Countess Matilda, but his "*Vita Comitissae Matildae*" is colorless and cumbered with borrowed literary adornments. In the convent of Novalesa, at the foot of Mount Cenis, on the way of pilgrims coming from France, a chronicle was penned which inspired one of Manzoni's tragedies. It is a distorted and incoherent story of Charlemagne. In this *Cronaca Novalesa*, Charlemagne accepts the offers of love and treason which the daughter of the Lombard King Desiderius has sent to him with the keys of the city whilst vainly besieging Pavia. But when Charlemagne in his triumph is met by the royal maiden, *gaudio ex promissione sublevata*, he bids his Frankish warriors trample her under their horses' feet.

CHAPTER II

Italian Communes

EXCEPT for that part of Italy which finally became the kingdom of the Two Sicilies, the history of the Italian communes is the history of Italy for several centuries. These communes reflect the life and thought and spirit of the Italian people. "The Italian commune," says Villari, "created modern society. The Middle Ages were unacquainted with the State; Europe was divided into feudal castles; into associations, almost into little groups and fragments. Above these fragments into which society was broken up, there were two great universal institutions: the Empire and the Church; but these two institutions, just because they were universal, were opposed to the modern National State. The Middle Ages knew nothing of civil equality; the aristocracy was a separate caste from the rest of the population; in Italy it represented foreign blood. The workers were not free. The Italian commune proclaimed the independence of work, the equality of men. These are the foundations upon which modern society is based."

Roman tradition, the Church, German feudalism, and other elements combined to form the Italian commune; and the proportion of these elements varies with the commune; Milan, Venice, Rome, and Florence, each represents a different type. From the fourth century Milan was the second city of the Roman Empire. In his diocesan principality, which extended from Genoa to Coira, Archbishop St. Ambrose (340-397) exercised an influence similar to that of the Pope in Rome. Equally great of soul was Archbishop Ariberto d'Intimiano, who ruled the Milanese in the eleventh century. We have seen how he twice crowned Conrad king of Italy, and how when King Conrad attempted to destroy the liberty of Milan, Ariberto led a citizen army against Conrad, drove him from the city, and uncrowned him. Here began communal government in Milan. The king was uncrowned. The imperial date was removed from every public act. Ariberto drew elements of administration and government from the popular forces. But the great noble who gave emancipation and political power to

the entire citizenry of Milan was Lanzzone. Lanzzone, as *Capitano del popolo*, went to Germany and made an alliance with the Emperor. On May 5, 1055, at the solemn diet held in the meadows of Roncaglia, the necessary ordinances were made part of the law of the realm. Thus the Milanese citizens attained freedom, and Milan became a sovereign and autonomous commune.

Amalfi, Pisa, Genoa, and Venice differed greatly from the communes of Milan and Florence and Rome. The Amalfi commune lighted the Italian sky for a moment, and then was extinguished by the rising greatness of Pisa, Genoa, and Venice. From Arabia and Egyptian Alexandria, from Africa and Antioch and Sicily, rich treasures poured into Amalfi. Wherever the tides of commerce flowed, Amalfi's ships were found. And then, early in the twelfth century, came the Normans, and Amalfi's liberty and prosperity expired. Pisa cherished her heritage of ancient Etruscan civilization and of Roman greatness, waged war with Genoa and Venice, and defeated the Saracens. Pagans, Parthians and Chaldeans, Libyans and Turks, merchants and mariners from every port, thronged Pisan streets; but her maritime power was shattered in the battle of Melotia.

Long and bitter were the wars, brief the truces, between Genoa and Venice; Genoa and Pisa fought for sixty years, Genoa and Venice fought, but Genoa was never entirely overwhelmed. In 1256 the Genoese quarter of Acre was burned. In 1261, in the waters of Trapai, the Venetian Doge Lorenzo Tiepolo destroyed the Genoese navy. The Venetians seemed to have forever shattered the power of Genoa, yet at Curzola, in 1298, the armada of Genoa vanquished the Venetian fleet and captured five thousand prisoners. Of all the communes, Genoa was least affected by feudalism.

For centuries internal discord, bitter strife, and rivalry with other maritime communities were the lot of Venice; but there was no faction of Guelph and Ghibelline, no mingling of victor and vanquished in Venice, and Venice increased in population and prosperity, and dominated the Orient. Within the city were manufactures, foundries, and workshops; and the greatest naval arsenal in Europe. The rule of the *Ottimati*, or noble families, kept Venice free for centuries. The commune of Venice is unique in the history of the world.

The Roman commune is a thing apart. *Roma caput mundi regit orbis frena rotundi* was absorbed in the idea of universal rule. She

had governed the world; her civilization and law had dominated Europe and Asia and Africa; and her people still were intoxicated with the terrible sound of her name. But Rome was the seat of the papacy. The Church had appropriated Roman attributes. Imperial Rome also was the head of the Germanic "Holy Roman Empire." Roman citizens, Roman papacy, and the "Holy Roman Empire," each claimed supreme authority in the city. And then, to make confusion more confounded, from their hill fortresses about Rome came down the most haughty, most cruel, most insolent nobility in the world, and took up their residence within those tragic walls.

Tumult and horror, anarchy and confusion, dominated the daily life of the Roman commune, from the eighth until the fifteenth century. How many popes were dragged from their churches and palaces, outraged and beaten and sometimes killed! Against others, the city gates were shut; while still others made shameful surrender to mobs or to nobles. This is the picture of the Roman commune during the Middle Ages.

Though latest in origin, Florence was the most glorious of all the Italian communes! In 1063 the Florentines rebelled against their simoniacal bishop. In the account of his trial, municipal magistrates are mentioned. Upon the death of the Countess Matilda in 1115, Florence became independent. Those who had commanded the army and administered justice in Matilda's name now became consuls of the commune and exercised their offices in the people's name. The "guilds," or *Arti*, formed the senate or council. And back of these were the *Popolo* (the people) who, when necessary, assembled in parliament. This democracy of citizens associating in their *consortium* of arts and crafts, and daily discussing public affairs, explains contemporary Florentine intellectual activity.

The Diet of San Genesio, which constituted the league of Guelph cities, was the first great act of the commune of Florence. But even before the Guelph league, in 1107 the castles of Montegrossoli and Pogna in the Chianti, and of Monte Orlandi at Signa, and the castle of Cambiate in the Mugello had been destroyed, and the Cavalcanti driven out. In 1135 the castle of Monteboni was destroyed, the Buondelmonti being obliged to come into the city and live there as citizens. These ferocious wars were fought with steel and fire; and the resistance of the haughty seigniors was desperate.

Besides dislodging the lords from the castles, the commune eman-

cipated their vassals. The Act of the Priors of the Guilds has a preface on the natural right of man to be free. It is dated 1279. In this emancipation of the vassals, the commune of Florence was preceded by that of the commune of Pistoia in 1205 and of the commune of Bologna in 1256. The seigniors no longer having the *contadini* (peasants) in their power gave them the lands as tenants, and many of these tenants became proprietors. When the castles were pulled down, and the feudal lords were obliged to settle in the town, they built fortresses with lofty towers in the midst of the city, and around these fortress-palaces extended the houses of their kinsfolk, like a camp entrenched for common defense. Thus there were Florentine streets where all the houses belonged to the same family, and the towers were constructed at the family expense. This union of families was called *consorteria*. As far as was possible, they continued the family customs of the *castelli* and lived apart from the artisans and merchants by whom they were surrounded.

The members of this feudal aristocracy, who had unwillingly resigned themselves to living in the city, now occupied their fortified city palaces. They were enemies in the midst of a free people, and often resorted to violence in order to obtain the mastery and secure the major offices of the commune. In the year 1200 there were seventy-five such feudal families that had towers. These towers were square, from 120 to 140 braccia high, and were held in common by the *consorteria*. The loggia (covered piazza) in the midst of the houses of the *consorti* opened upon the public street and was the common possession of the *consorteria*, and served for the weddings and funerals and festive gatherings of the *consorti*. In Florence the expression *famiglia di torre e loggia* (family of tower and loggia) meant one of wealth and ancient nobility. Other *consorterie* were bound together *per carta*, that is by a written convention. Still another kind of *consorteria* was that concluded for the exercise of trade. Finally, there were the *consorterie* of the offices; such as the Priors of the Arti (guilds), which was the first popular form of communal government.

The commune of Florence was naturally Guelph, because the *popolo vecchio* (old people) which constituted it possessed the Latin tradition and were of strong religious sentiment. After the victory of Campaldino, the Florentine Guelphs governed the commune for some years. The Ghibellines gathered at Siena and, aided by King Manfred, were victorious in 1260 at Montaperti. When the Ghibel-

lines returned to Florence, they destroyed the city property of the Guelphs and devastated Guelphic possessions in the *contado*. After the defeat and death of King Manfred at Benevento, the Guelphs drove Ghibelline Count Guido Novello, the imperial vicar, out of Florence and ruled the commune. Florentine internal struggles were no longer between Empire and Church, but between *grandi* and *popolo*. And against the *grandi* there began those laws of hatred which the *popolo* called "justice."

For the execution of these ordinances, the *Gonfaloniere di giustizia* (Gonfalonier of justice) was instituted, with one thousand armed *popolani* (men of the people) at his command. When a crime was committed, the great bell was struck with a hammer (*martello*), and the house of the culprit was torn down. The oppressed *grandi* filled the city with tumults, which were fanned by the *popolani grassi*, or rich merchants who had a following among the people. Fierce and haughty Corso Donati, a Guelph, was the head of a *consorteria*. Stafani says of him that "he had a great following and great arrogance, and that because of the ordinances of justice he could not be so great as he thought he deserved to be." Some noble families, being weary of this oppression and of the unjust laws, joined the popular party. Beneath the iron laws, even the *consorterie* finally bent before the *popolani*, until they remained a mere traditional family-link, which gradually dissolved with time. When the feudal faction had been annihilated the contest for supremacy was between families of the *popolo grasso*, each seeking a share of the spoils of the vanquished. In the quarrels between the Albizzi, the Strozzi, the Alberti, the Ricci, and the Medici families, the *popolo* merely served as an instrument of private ambition. When the Medici came to power, the democratic Florentine society of the Middle Ages ceased to exist. The tumultuous tragedies of Florentine communal life present the beginnings of the evolution of the modern state. And the marvel of it is that in spite of this unending strife and political agitation the city was enriched with workshops, carried its commerce to the ends of the earth, and found its glory in art and literature.

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CHAPTER III

Life, Art, and Letters in the Thirteenth Century

THE eleventh century marked the zenith of the Roman imperial idea. Europe was judged by Roman law. A German Emperor recognized Roman imperial universality. Philosophy and science, church and tribunal, spoke Latin. In the twelfth century, Roman universality, Latinity, and the Middle Ages were passing; Italianism and humanism were appearing. The afterglow of the Middle Ages persisted, but in Tuscany and Umbria, in Florence especially, dawned a new day. We journey in a land prospected by many, but accurately described by no one. Attempts at chronological or regional distinction are misleading. Twelfth and thirteenth century Italian literature was composed in Latin, in Provençal and dialect and in Italian. Books written in Latin possessed an Italian spirit. Most dialect poetry imitated the Provençal, though some Latin and dialect poetry was inspired by the French. Learning and diplomacy spoke Latin.

The thirteenth century was full of great events: Charles I of Anjou created a strong French monarchy in South Italy, the Guelphs ruled democratically in Florence (1293), the Visconti, Scaligeri, and Este dominated North Italy, and Venice became an aristocratic republic governed by the Great Council (1297). To the thirteenth century belong those beautiful Latin hymns, the *Pange lingua*, *Dies irae*, and *Stabat Mater*, in which worship, dread of the Day of Judgment, and human sorrow find vivid expression. Latin prose fiction often is Italian in spirit. Every town had its historian, who usually began his chronology with local legends and continued his history to his own time. Ottone Morena sang the tragic fall of Lodi, "old and young, leaving their houses to the cats and dogs, and out of the ruined city carrying only babies in their arms."

Sanzanome's florid *Gesta Florentinorum*, expressed in incorrect Latin, recounts the early wars between Florence and Fiesole. Fiesolani vaunt their descent from Italicus, Eneas' grandson; Florentines boast that they are children of Rome. Guido della Colonne's "History of

Troy" borrows largely from Benoît de Sainte More. Of Fra Salimbene's (b. 1221) *Chronicon*, a history of Europe which begins "quite at the beginning," only the part from 1167 to 1287 has been preserved. This *Chronicon* is written in rude Latin, mixed with vernacular, and abounds in curious information about the manners and customs of thirteenth century Florentine life. Here is a father at the convent door entreating his son to return to his dying mother. The son coldly dismisses him, his mother's prayer to see her son is a devilish temptation. Salimbene bitterly attacks the clergy and friars. He describes the siege of Parma, and the final defeat of the Emperor Frederic. He gives a ghastly picture of the fate of Alberic da Romano, brother of Ezzelino, and tyrant of Treviso.

Caffaro's (1100-1163) *Annales Gennensis* begin with the year 1100, and extend to the second half of the century. The Genoese consuls ordered Caffaro's work to be continued at the city's expense. This is the first official record of daily events by a government commission. These records of Italian communes which reveal a general stirring of national feeling were written in Latin, a language that was no longer colloquial, and they are of slight literary value.

In that most popular of all twelfth century Latin works the *Elegia de Diversitate Fortunae et Philosophiae Consolationei* by Henricus Pauper (Enrico da Settimello), Fortune appears to the poverty stricken poet, but offers no justification for her fickleness. Philosophy then appears attended by her seven maids of honor, who are the Seven Liberal Arts, and seeks to persuade the poet that he must bravely endure his fate. This sonorous but tedious work was used largely in the schools. Settimello's Latin forms reflect the average literary intelligence of his time. Although Settimello closed one century and Boncompagno opened another, there was no essential difference between these writers; they both reflect the contemporary life.

Boncompagno's book was read before a meeting of professors in Bologna (March 1215), and praised and prized in Padua. Boncompagno's voluminous production often is amusing, and his style is varied, his information is extensive, his anecdotes are humorous. His *De Obsidione Anconae liber* breathes the epic spirit. Boncompagno passionately demanded the union of Italian cities against foreign invaders. His *Rota Veneris* discusses women. It is an *Ars amandi* or a *Summa dictaminum*; a collection of precepts. "Praise every woman

and spare no superlatives. Whoever would win a woman must begin by compliments and promises which he never means to keep . . . all women at first deny that which they propose to grant. I plan to teach you how to make love, and what intermediaries to use." He dispraises convents, and some of his literary letters are supposed to be exchanged between a nun and her lover. The story is not different from the *novelle* that will delight the coming *quattrocento*.

Diplomats and statesmen cultivated the ornate Latin style that notaries professed, that Rome used in its state documents—a style which was written by Pietro delle Vigne at the court of Frederic II. Pietro delle Vigne strives to reproduce the majesty of the Latin period. Guido Faba wrote *Parlamenta et Epistola* in Latin. Here is a dialogue between Carnival and Lent. Carnival calls Lent the "enemy" of the world, the "mother of tears," and proclaims himself the king of kings. He allows Lent to rule for a few weeks, but soon he will return and with Easter Day bring joy to the people. Girard Pateg (Girardo Patecchio) of Cremona was an early didactic versifier in Latin, and was often quoted by his contemporaries. Some intellectual activity was still found in the universities. As to *Goliardici* (student songs) there are critics who declare that nothing really *Goliardic* was ever composed by Italians. Certainly Bologna, Padua, and Naples university students were not without some of the darker vices which Bonvesin da Riva has described in his *Vita Scolastica*.

The Italian thirteenth century also witnessed a revival of pictorial arts. The cathedrals of Siena and Orvieto, the church de' Frari at Venice, Giovanni Pisano's Campo Santo of Pisa, and Arnolfo di Cambio's S. Croce and S. Maria del Fiore at Florence; the communal palaces of Piacenza, Como, Cremona (1245), Siena, S. Gimignano (1288), the Florentine Palazzo del Podestà and the Palazzo della Signoria—all belong to the thirteenth century. Niccolo Pisano (1206–1280), the father of modern Italian sculpture, supported his pulpit at Pisa by its own columns, and his pulpit in Siena, executed in 1268, shows still further technical development, skill, and artistic sensibility. In the fountain of Perugia only the statuettes at the angles of the second great basin are the work of Pisano.

In the second half of the thirteenth century Cimabue's painting broke through the hieratic traditions of the Byzantine school. Then Giotto di Bondone (1266–1337), in the basilica of Assisi, in the chapel of S. Maria dell' Arena at Padua, and in the church of S. Croce at

Florence, depicted scenes of sacred history with wonderful simplicity.

In the twelfth and thirteenth centuries, both north and south of the Alps, the same Latin language was used, and the same literary ideals and the same chivalric notions of honor and courtesy were common to French and Italian romance literature. French dialects mingled with Italian dialects. Now in Italy *langues d'oc* and *d'oïl* became popular and fashionable. To the universality of Rome now succeeded the universality of the Neo-Latin world. Barbarossa's coming to Roncaglia (1158) with his court poets gives a probable date when French troubadours or *trouvères* first visited the courts and universities of Italy.

This French poetry, the *chansons de geste*, originated in the North of France and was composed in the *langue d'oïl*. But what was the origin of the lyric of the South of France, composed in the *langue d'oc*? When and where and in what manner of words did people first reveal the emotions of hearts trembling with love? Popular poetry, primitive songs, afterwards modified by repetition, were finally reduced to writing. The earliest French poetry, *maieroles*, were carols, accompanied by dances. These first *caroles*, or *maieroles*, express joy at the coming of spring, after the gloom of winter. Then came songs which urge wives to rebel against tyrant husbands, and daughters to disobey tight-laced mothers. Later fragments praise the maidens who stray under the rosebush, and the wives who sigh for their *leal ami*; sometimes they ridicule foolish husbands. At some moment, perhaps in 1140, and at some place, perhaps at Poitiers or at Limoges, these songs were transformed from spontaneous expressions of joy to artificial compositions, and were passed from the field to the castle there to amuse idle gentlefolk.

The troubadour sang of an abstract love which did not imply a particular object of worship. Always the lady is demure, the lover is respectful; the feelings are conventional in these *caroles*, which finally develop into *ballade* and *pastourelle*. The knight woos a shepherdess sitting under a tree; her breast is white, her cheek is rosy, the poet suffers torment, the lady resists. She is compared to the panther whose breath is *auloroso* (odorous), to the swan which sings when about to die. She is adored, feared, called rose of May, star of dawn; is likened to the ruby, to the jacinth, to the emerald, and is always a pale image with blue eyes and fair hair. But in real life the lady thus chanted is never a maid, and the young girl must

submit to the heavy yoke of marriage if she wishes to be loved by idlers and poets.

The Provençal troubadours who came in 1154, in the train of Frederic Barbarossa, found brilliant and lordly patrons in the different Italian courts. Wealthy cities also gave welcome and hospitality. Some of these troubadours received the royal bounty of Roger II, and of William II in Sicily, and probably met with Arabic *raoui*. Both Mussulman and Christian poets have the same conception of love, both are courtiers, both seek for reward, and both the French and the Oriental poets were followed by an attendant, who performed a minimum of musical accompaniment to their songs. Life in the Northern courts of Italy, and in the great feuds of Piedmont, resembled life in a French *manoir*. The wife welcomed the visitor who brought relief from the monotony of eventless days. The husband delighted to have an eyewitness of his warlike prowess, a flatterer or a witty companion; and the troubadour was eager to enjoy the double profit.

The feats of love and adventure of Peire Vidal, the troubadour of Toulouse, the kiss he stole from Adelaide de Barral and how he obtained her husband's pardon, his love for the Countess of Ventadorn, his pretensions to the throne of Constantinople, these matters have often been related. He was in Monferrato in 1195, when Lombardy had risen against Emperor Henry VI, and he composed a violent *sirventés* in Provençal against the Emperor. The immortal Rambaut de Vaqueiras, the companion of Bonifazio di Monferrato and the lover of Beatrice, was born about 1155 in Vaqueiras, in the comté of Orange. He was a favorite with Guillaume del Balzo, first prince of Orange. For Guillaume he composed *sirventés* against rivals for the favor of Barbarossa; with Guillaume he composed *tensons*. Alberto Malaspina, the first Italian to compose in Provençal, records how he saw Rambaut tramping along the highroad and hungry for a meal. About 1197 Rambaut was in Genoa where he composed the first Italian dialect poem. This poem illustrates two different civilizations. Rambaut was practiced in the art of flattering grand ladies and courted the wife of a Genoese merchant. The haughty lady denied his solicitations and spurned his compliments. The surprised poet confessed his mistake and apologized. In this *contrasto*, the first Italian dialect poem formed of couplets, the poet speaks in Provençal. The woman replies in vibrant Genoese dialect.

Rambaut's later adventures are related in three epistles which hold a special place in Italian literature. Rambaut promises Bonifazio that he will relate only such feats as they have achieved together. How they abducted fair Seldina da Mar from the castle of Malaspina and married her to Ponet d'Aquilar, who was abed dying for the love of her. How brilliantly told are the pursuit, attacks, encounters, escape, and the final rescue of Giacomina from a hateful marriage, and of her lands from a rapacious uncle! The very spirit of feudal tyranny and retribution is here. The first epistle describes Italian life in the feudal castle. The second epistle is filled with the clang of arms in the Crusades.

Rambaut, seeing his lady love flourishing a heavy sword, names her *Bel Cavalier* and by this name he ever afterwards addresses her in his poems. He relates how Marquis Bonifazio discovered the imprudent lovers sleeping in each other's arms and how he covered them with his own cloak and afterwards forgave Rambaut, when he came to beg his lord's pardon for having borrowed his cloak. Thus Rambaut de Vaqueiras lived his life of love and glory, and probably suffered a hero's death in some Eastern field of battle, and the echo of his brave heart still rings in the world. Another Provençal, Uc (or Ugo) d'Saint Cir (or Circ), was in Italy during the struggles between Emperor Frederic II and the Pope, and he sided with Church against Empire. In 1240 he composed a *sirventés* encouraging the enemies of Frederic to resist him, and entreating the King of France to come and conquer Puglia.

The court of Este in Ferrara was the meeting place of Provençal and Italian poets. A life of Maestro Ferrari of Ferrara describes these courtly manners and court poets. The best known of the Italian imitators of Provençals was Sordello of Goito (Mantua), a thirteenth century *Trovatore*, whose life does not answer to the high praise Dante gives him in the Sixth Canto of Purgatorio. Sordello versified in Provençal and in Italian. He towered in Italy and in the Veneto. But his contemporaries considered him an ambitious *giullare* of doubtful morality. He died about 1270. In his "Complaint in the death of Sire Blacato," one of the few original compositions in this school of imitations and borrowings, Sordello relates how Sire Blacato, a feudatory of Provence, was a man of such great courage that the poet would have his brave heart plucked out and divided into portions, that cowards may feed and become braver. First the Em-

peror of Rome (Frederic II) must eat of it, if he would conquer the Milanese; King Louis IX of France also must eat of it, if he would recover the land he has lost by his incapacity. "I wish the King of England (Henry III), because he has little courage, should eat a good deal of this heart, then he might be valiant and good, and recover the land, and the honor which the King of France took from him."

Between 1190 and 1266, possibly twenty-five Italians composed in Provençal. They treated in *volgare* many subjects which Latin writers had overlooked; they taught a refined art of prosody, they originated non-classic forms of composition and metrical measures, and disclosed a world of new images and emotions. When these courtly troubadours had played their short rôle, they vanished from the scene. Their art was preserved by the plain people and the Lombard school.

Foreign conquests, political divisions, and the persistence of classical ideals suffocated nationalism in Italy and made an heroic epopee impossible. Much Northern French epic poetry, however, passed into Italy in its original *langue d'oïl*, and Italian narrators soon mixed native elements with their French in writing Franco-Venetian verse. The *Entrées en Espagne* narrate the expedition of Charles into Spain, to conquer the sanctuary of San Jacopo and free the road for pilgrims.

The author of *La Prise de Pampelune* was a Lombard, and he echoed that demand for national independence which was daily growing in the free cities. *La Prise de Pampelune* assumes the form of a chronicle of sieges and battles. The poet imagines Desirier, the Langobard hero, fighting bravely in the Carolingian ranks, conquering Pampelune, and claiming the right for his Lombards to wear their jeweled furbished swords, even in the Emperor's presence. This vogue in Italy for the *langue d'oïl* poets was transient; they did not appeal to Italian intellectuals. The use of Italian *volgare* was increased by the preaching of popular friars. On many a village common, on market or holiday meetings, after some *trouvère* had gathered around him a group of listeners, a friar would rise to address them before the group had time to disperse. "The things that I will tell you are all true; I got them out of the Scripture or the antique books." In the second half of the thirteenth century, the Franciscan Fra Giacomino of Verona describes the joys of Paradise in *De Ierusalem* and the torments of hell in *De Babilonia infernali*. "You must know that what I am telling you is no fable, but that I have copied it out of the text *glosse e sermoni*." By such descriptions of

Paradise and awful pictures of Hell he corrects the lives of his people and teaches them the way to salvation. The Virgin Mary is a noble *castellana*, and the saints form her train. In Giacomino's picture of Hell Beelzebub seasons a sinner with poisoned spices and vinegar before roasting him, and fixes him tightly to the spit "like a fine pig." The heat is thus illustrated:

Se quanta aqua e en mare entro ge fos cetaa
Encontinento ardria si come cera colsa.

Macometo, Barachino, and Satan rule over the infernal realm, and from the top of a tower a *scaraguaita* shrieks welcome to the newcomers, and watches over the inmates. Notwithstanding much that is conventional and irrelevant, Fra Giacomino has some traits of Dante; thus the surviving hatred of two sinners clutching at each other,

E sel poes l'un altro dar de morso
El ge maniarìa lo cor dentro 'l corpo,

foreshadows Dante's Conte Ugolino.

Though Fra Giacomino da Verona is an unlettered poet, without theological training, and his elucidations of mysteries and his explanations of dogma are not orthodox, he tells the history of the world from the creation, and ends with doomsday and final destruction. His poem of two thousand lines contains many moral digressions and poetical imaginings. The Milanese Fra Bonvesin da Riva who died about 1313 believed himself a religious author; he is in fact a *novellatore*. In his description of a hospital, the episodes are briskly conducted. Bonvesin borrows freely. His tensons are written for the amusement of his friends. Sometimes the tenson turns to polemic. The devil urges his cause with scholastic logic. "God should not have made me such as I am, only bent on sin. If he knew that I could not help being wicked he should not punish me." "God is almighty; he could well have made me so good that I could not sin; it would cost him nothing, and bring him more honour. . . . He seems to take pleasure in my misery." Bonvesin also teaches good manners. This anticipation of Lord Chesterfield is entitled the fifty *cortesie*. He invents discussions between the violet and the rose, the fly and the ant, the Virgin and Satan. Bonvesin's dialect contains a few Lombardisms, and Fra Giacomino's dialect often uses Veronese words. Almost every great city had a collection of ancient poetical composi-

tions which belong to these early Italian dialects. Some are orisons to Mary or Saint Stephen, some are paraphrases of Bible stories and of proverbial sayings. Local patriotism, which then meant hatred of Venice, breathes from these parchments.

Towards the close of the eleventh century, the Normans crossed from the mainland into Sicily, expelled the Saracens, and founded a principality which was governed by Count Roger, as pontifical legate. Roger, the second, wrested Apulia and Calabria from the other Norman princes, and was recognized by the Pope as King of Sicily, Duke of Apulia and Calabria, and Prince of Capua. This Roger, the second, restrained the barons, established wise internal regulations, revived industry, and waged successful war against his enemies. This new Sicilian monarchy might perhaps have developed into the kingdom of Italy, had it not passed by marriage to the house of Suabia, which at that time governed the Empire. When the kingdom of Sicily and Apulia had passed to the Suabians of the south, they became Italian princes, and Provençal poetry became Sicilian. Thus in Sicily a third literary period arose, which overlaps the Lombard period of North Italy and is called the Sicilian or "aulic" school of poetry, from the academy founded by King Frederic II.

Frederic II was born in 1194, in Jesi, and four years later upon the death of his imperial father, as the heir of his royal mother Constance of Hauteville, he became King of Sicily. In the kingdom of Sicily from 1208 to the year of his death in 1250, Frederic II governed with authority and with majesty. In his court the lyric of Provence was appreciated, but those imitating it used the Italian vernacular, and the oldest really artistic Italian poetry flourished, and the tradition of a national Italian literature originated, at the court of Frederic and of Manfred. This Sicilian school of poets at the Suabian court imitated the Provençals, repeated the transalpine thought, and the women they described are Provençal images of abstract perfection; but the language used was Italian *volgare*, and the poets sometimes wrote with sincerity and vivacity.

This term "Sicilian school," however, is equivocal. The school was not Sicilian but *cortese*, *aulica*. To the *corte* of Frederic II came poets and scholars from all parts of Italy. The poets of Bologna, Florence, Lucca, and Arezzo contested in tensons with the poets of the court of King Frederic II in Palermo, to whom they sent their compositions; and thus they belonged to the "Sicilian school." Dante gave

the reason for its name "*et quai regale solium erat Sicilia, factum est, quincquid nostri predecessores vulgariter protelurunt, sicilianum vocetur.*" * These poets of the "Sicilian school" not only were found at the court of Palermo but also were scattered in other regions of Sicily. For example, Oddo and Guido della Colonna were natives of Messina. The first composed verses about 1250; the second was a judge in 1242 and composed the *Historia trojana* towards the end of the century.

In the courts of Palermo, Messina, Capua, wherever the Emperor or some great baron or bishop fixed his residence, in every castle or villa wherein imperial envoys, Norman princes, Latin stylists, or lordly churchmen were returning to their convents; by the scholar fresh from the schools of Padua, Naples, Bologna, or Salerno; and the merchant prince of Genoa, or Venice, or Pisa, on his way to eastern marts; this *volgare* was spoken by all who claimed breeding, it was further enriched by gleanings from other languages, and was given new inflections and was modified by local dialects. The realism of this Sicilian poetry was generally addressed to a married woman and affected a respectful humility, quite different from the passionately sensual expressions of the Sicilian lover. Thus the so-called "Sicilian school" always had an Italian character, because of the blending of varied personalities of poets born in many lands.

A curious collection of documents relate how three poets used to meet in Bologna. One of these poets was Jacopo Mostacci, a Tuscan notary, filling high offices; another was Pietro delle Vigne the Capuan, who was perhaps the greatest statesman of his time; and the third, Jacopo da Lentino, a Sicilian, was a serious and honorable citizen. These three exchanged poetical compositions about love. Mostacci starts the *tenson* and Jacopo da Lentino answers in a *sonnet* *Amore e un disi*: "Love is a desire that grows from the heart out of the plenitude of delight. The eyes first have engendered love, but the heart gives it food. Sometimes a man loves even before seeing his love, but that love which burns fiercely has its origin in the eyes. And this is the love that reigns over the world."

This conception of love is the dawn of the *dolce stil nuovo*. Rinaldo d'Aquino, a court page in his youth, sang of a Messina woman *Sovrano fiore di Messina*. The ice of propriety found in troubadouric poetry thawed under Southern heat. In Rinaldo's *Lamento della*

* *De. vulg. eloqu.*, I, xxx.

sposa d'un crociato, the forsaken maid does not wish for comfort. Her crusading lover has sent no word of farewell, night and day she prays for him, "*Santus santus Deo, ch'nla Vergin venisti, Tu salva e guarda l'amor meo, Po che da me 'partista.*" The Cross which is everyman's salvation is the cause of her despair. *Ne mi val Dio pregare.* In 1266 Rinaldo passed over to the Angevins. He died about 1280.

Pietro delle Vigne was born at Capua in 1180. A notary in 1220, a court judge in 1225, grand imperial chancellor from 1247 to 1249, for thirty years he was indispensable to King Frederic; then, suddenly, he was imprisoned and met a traitor's death (1249). In Capua is a marble monument picturing Frederic and Pietro delle Vigne together. His style which reproduces the majesty of the Latin period is revealed in the Latin documents of the court, and his effigy tells of the trust and honor he had earned.

Giacomino Pugliese (Giacomo di Morra) is claimed by the Sicilian school. Frederic II appointed him *podesta* in Treviso. But in 1241 he fled to Spoleto and joined the Pope's party. He starts from imitation, he arrives at originality. Sometimes he sings of real love adventures. Few of his compositions have survived.

Membrando ch' ei te, bella, e lo mio brazo
Quando sciendesti a me in diporto
Per la finestra de lo palazzo.*

Recalling that I had thee, fair one, in my arms
When thou descendedst to me for my solace
By the window of the palace.

Giacomo da Lentino was one of the earliest Sicilian poets. He was employed by Frederic II as a notary in 1233. We know little of his life, and his forty amorous poems do not illumine his figure. Dante praises a *canzone* of his.† Only in the *canzone*, "*Ben m'e venuto prima al cor doglienza,*" probably written before 1237, does he refer to an important event. The *Notaro* died previous to 1250. Through the *canzone*, Giacomo lighted on the sonnet. His heart breaks with desire "like the tempest that breaks against the shore," and he drops sighs and tears. The jewel of this school is the *Contrasto* of Ciullo d'Alcamo, quoted by Dante, *Rosa fresca aulentissima*.

The name of the author, the date of the composition, the purport, the intentions, even the origin of this *Contrasto* are disputed. Cielo

* *Isplendente stella Moncai*, I, 90.

† *De. vulg. eloqu.*, I, xii.

or Ciulo or Ciullo dal Camo, or d'Alcamo, lived and composed before 1220. The *Contrasto* was probably written after 1231 but before 1250. Whether he was a court poet affecting popular phrase or a humble minstrel imitating court manners is not certain, but he was a vital poet. The form is the Italianized tenson; strophes spoken alternately by each personage of the love duet. The man begs and the woman denies. It is thrilling to be entreated, it is zestful to be repulsed. The coquetry of the woman who pretends that the treasure of Saladin could not conquer her, but surrenders so frankly, was appreciated and understood. Ciullo's poem is rough in its grammar and contains words of Sicilian, French, Latin, Neapolitan, and Provençal derivation:

Amante. Molte sono le femine
c'hanno dura la testa,
e' l'uomo con parabole
le dimina e ammonesta;
tanto intorno perccaccia
sinche l'ha in sua podesta.
Femina d'Uomo non si puo tenere;
guardati, bella, pur di pipentere.
Madonna. Che eo me ne pentesse.
davanti foss' io aussisa,
ca nulla buona femina
per me fosse riprisa.
Er sera ci passast i
correnno alla distisa.
Acquistiti riposo, canzoneri;
le tue paraole a me non piaccion gueri.

Lover. Many women are obstinate
and the man overcomes them,
dominating and persuading them
with his words. He hunts them
everywhere till he has them in
his power. A woman cannot
keep from a man. Take care, O
beauty, that thou mayest not repent.
Lady. I? Repent? May I rather
die! No good woman shall get
shame through me. Last night thou
didst come towards my dwelling
running with all speed. Have done,
mockers, for thy words do not
please me at all.

CHAPTER IV

Early Literature in the Vernacular

SICILIAN chivalric culture was a foreign importation. The "gay science," the "code of love," with its settled rules and customs did not influence the common people, and it did not last. Thousands of poems on these subjects remain, all similar in form and color. Art became a profession, sentences were a convention. After the middle of the thirteenth century, when, with the death of Manfred, the house of Suabia fell, Italian feudal culture passed to Tuscany. Of the Sicilians nothing remained except the epigram: "*Che fur gia primi; e quivi eran da sezzo* (That were once the first; and then were the last)." Even while Italian culture was attracting illustrious minds to Palermo, the Italian *volgare* was developing in Bologna and Florence. Ciaccio dall'Anguillara of Florence wrote a *tenzone* which shows that the Tuscan speech already possessed grace, sincerity, and simplicity.

How touching is this sonnet by the Florentine girl, the *Compiuta Donzella* (The Perfect Maiden), who is sad because her father insists that she marry against her will, even when all nature is holding festival "and every maiden dwells in joy."

Alla stagion che il mondo foglia
e fiora,
accresce gioia a tutti fini amanti;
vanno insieme alli giardini allora
che gli augelletti fanno nuovi
centi.
La franca gente tutta s'innamora,
ed in servir ciascun traggessi in-
nanti,
ed ogni damigella in gioi dimora,
e a me ne abbonclan smarrimenti
e pianti.
Che lo mio padre m'has messa
in errore
e tienemi sovente in forte doglia;
donar mi vuole a mia forza signore.

Ed io di cio non ho disio ne
voglia,
e in gran tormento vivo a tutte
l'ore;
pero non mi rallegra fior ne
foglia.

In the season that enleaves and
enflowers the world, joy increases
in the hearts of all fine lovers;
they go together to the gardens,
while the little birds are making
new songs.

Free people all fall in love;
each comes forward to serve some-
body, and every maiden is joyful.
But as for me: my father harshly
to me is inclined and holds me
often in great grief, wishing to
give me a lord not to my mind.
So I live in great torment at
all hours; nor flower nor leaf brings
me gladness.

In another sonnet she protests that rather than marry she would prefer "God to serve." In her last sonnet, she replies to the praises of her interlocutor:

Amantata non son(o) como voria
Di gran vertute ne di placimento,
Ma qual(e) chi(i) sia, agio buon(o) volero
Di servire con buona cortesia
A claschun(o) c'ama senza fallimento
Che d'amore son(o) e volgliolo ul dire.

I am not, as I would I were, possessed
Of virtue great nor passing fair to see;
But such as I am, seek with what grace I may
To serve with all good courtesy each behest
Unfailingly of whoso loveth me,
Whose love I am, and whom I would obey.

At Lucca, Bonagiunta, one of the small band of Lucchese singers, worships his *Amanza* as the woman of all perfections, and is almost a precursor of the *dolce stil nuovo*. Bonagiunta was born about 1240 and died between 1298 and 1300. At Siena, Folcacchiero dei Folcac-

chieri poetized during the first thirty years of the thirteenth century. He fought against the Florentines and died before 1260. His one surviving *canzone*, *Tuto lo mondo vive senza guerra*, is one of the best poems of his time. In the *Libro di Montaperti* (1260), a notable monument of the war fought between the Guelphs of Florence and the *fuorusciti* (banished), are found the names of several Guelph rhymesters. Various Ghibelline outlaws also wrote poetry.

The Bolognese Guido di Guinicelli, who was born about the year 1240 and was exiled in 1274, originated the *dolce stil nuovo*. Those who developed and continued Guinicelli's new poetic manner were Cavalcanti, Lapo Gianni, Frescobaldi—all Florentine poets of the late *Dugento*, bound by ties of friendship and common artistic criteria. Dante in the *Purgatorio* calls Guinicelli his intellectual father. The latter's *canzone* on the nature of love reveals the freshness of a new impression. Dante imitated this *canzone* and so there grew up a rich school of poetry in the vernacular. To the period of pure Provençalism there succeeded a Guittonian period in which beauty mingles with ugliness, and gracious native words are found beside crude barbarisms.

A fine example of this poetry is a *tenzone* of sonnets exchanged in 1267 between Florentine poets on the occasion of the descent of Corradino into Italy. Chiaro Davanzati, the best of these Florentine versifiers, flourished in the second half of the thirteenth century and best represents the poetry of transition, which is essentially Florentine, while the origin of the *stil nuovo* belongs to Bologna.

From Tuscany there came in 1267 a *ballata* which begins *Sovrana ballata placente*. This, the first *ballata* (ballad) which can be securely dated, was sent by an anonymous poet to Pisa (*Vaten, ballata novella, En Pisa cantante 'mpromera*), and may have been written at Florence. Among these rhymesters is Rustico di Filippi (*il Barbutto*), born between 1230 and 1240 and dead between 1291 and 1295, who initiates a remarkable type of naturalistic poetry.

In his sixty amorous and jesting sonnets Rustico, the *popolano*, sings of tears as a relief to amorous pains:

e spesse volte a piangier mi ritorno
e quindi bangno l'amoroso foco.

Thus as to weeping often I return
I bathe that amorous fire with which I burn.

To Messerino he addressed a sonnet in which he described a strange human creature—perhaps himself—whom God made merely to show his power:

Ancor risembra corbo nel cantare
ed e diritta bestia nel sapere,
ed uomo a somigliato al vestimento.

Quando Dio il fece, poco avea che fare;
ma volle dimostrar lo suo potere,
si strana cosa fare ebbe in talento

A crow he doth resemble when he sings,
and as to knowledge is a very beast
and yet his clothes like to a man's appear.

God, when he made him, had on hand few things,
but wished to demonstrate to even the least
He had the skill to make a thing so queer.

The brilliant and sometimes impertinent sonnets which Cecco Angiolieri da Siena exchanged with Dante are memorable. His hatred for his family is expressed in impious sonnets. Drunk with sincerity Cecco strips himself. He represents the victorious advance of the bourgeoisie in the life and the art of that great thirteenth century, which was at the same time so gentle and so coarse. In that age when the dread of the end of the world inspired the religious poetry of mystics and ascetics, and at the same time the lyric poetry which reflects indulgence in every form of light-living. We are already at the dawn of the fourteenth century with two cycles of sonnets by Folgore da S. Gimignano. Love, the chase, the joust, the dance, gaming, and banquets—all are sung by Folgore. Poetizing without pedantry, he reveals the life and culture of his people and truly represents the new Tuscan school.

Lanfranc Cigala was born in Genoa, perhaps about 1210, and was sent to Provence in 1241 as ambassador of the Genoa Republic. He died before 1278, perhaps assassinated. At first Sigala sang the love of the senses, he ended his career with poems to the Virgin in which he repented his misspent youth. Then he was the poet of laughter. "Laughter," he cries, "is born of joy and of gaiety and of amorous will, and signifies the true pleasure which the heart has in seeing that which delights it. Hence, if my lady looks upon me laughing, she cannot present to me a fairer semblance of love."

The Provençal poets of Genoa translated the *trovatore* songs and handled the Occitanic language. One Bonifacio Calvo went to the Spanish court of Alfonso X (*el Sabio*). He wrote political and amorous verses and versified in Portuguese. Toward 1260 he returned to Genoa where he, with other *trovatori*, delighted to *tenzonare*. For Calvo, love is life, love is God; and history is composed of knightly doings. This cult of chivalry was not Italian. If Bologna gloried in its Guinicelli, Arezzo had its Guittone, Todi its Jacopone, Florence its Brunetto Latini. Guido Cavalcanti, one of the followers of Guinicelli, was born a little earlier than 1260 of a noble Guelph family. He married Beatrice di Farinata of the Uberti family, and because of his political activity he was banished in 1300. In the simple *ballate*, where he sings of *Monna Vanna* 'fresca rosa novella, *piacente Primavera*,' he is charming. More rarely his *sonetti* possess the sweetness of *il dolce stil nuovo*. Soon Guido Cavalcanti's name was linked with that of Dante Alighieri in an unbroken friendship.

No exact date fixes the origin of the Italian language. Latin was invariably spoken and written by cultured Italians, but the local vernacular also was universally used in informal conversation. In the year 812 the Council of Torsi exhorted the priests to deliver their homilies in the rustic Roman tongue, and though doubtless subject to local modifications the Italian vernacular must have been similar to this Roman tongue. In forming this vulgar tongue the *favoleggiatori* (fine story-tellers) were important. They recited tales in the courts and castles in the same way that the rhymers poetized of love. The new tongue became known as *favella*, the language of the *favoleggiatori*, and so the beginnings of the Italian language were "verses of love and prose of romance."

A few thirteenth century Italian writers modeled their Latin on the classics. But when literature became a part of the life of the common people, the literary works of the new age were expressed in the local vernacular. When, where, and by whom the first literary work in Italian was composed, is uncertain. A few poetic compositions probably belong to the twelfth century. A rude rhymed inscription on the arch of the chair of the cathedral of Ferrara may date back to 1135. In Rambaldo di Vaquerias's *contrasto* (1190) a Genoese girl uses Genoese dialect. Four lines in the vernacular celebrate the capture of a castle near Belluno in 1193.

The earliest Italian vernacular prose translates or paraphrases

French or Latin. Noble knights, ardent, Tristram, Lancelot, Guinevere, Isolde of the white hand, the so-called *materia di Bretagna*, use Tuscan prose in the so-called *Tristano* romance. Translations from French texts also are the *Istoriella troiana* and the *Fatti di Cesare*, *Conti de' cavalieri* and the *Vite de' santi*. A *Storia de Troia et de Roma* in Roman dialect derives from a Latin source. It is perhaps the first vernacular compilation of ancient history. The famed *Libro di novelle e di bel parlar gentile* contains a hundred tales.

Other novels introduce historical personages and depict the contemporary customs of princely courts, enlivened by the songs and recitals of minstrels. The *Libro dei Sette Savi* contains fifteen "novels," framed within a more extensive narrative. The "novels" relate the artifices practiced for seven consecutive days by seven wise men, and by the second wife of the Emperor of Rome; the former to induce the Emperor to defer, and the latter to hasten, the execution of his own son accused of the crime of which the stepmother is guilty. This is a thirteenth century Italian translation, of a French adaptation, of a work which originated in India. The *Libro fiesolano* is a recital of Fiesole and Florentine legends. Thirteenth century history held to the Latin.

In 1256 Maestro Aldobrando of Florence, or Siena, wrote a short treatise in the *langue d'oïl*, on hygiene, entitled *Le regime du corps*; and in 1282 Friar Ristoro of Arezzo used the vernacular of Arezzo in the *Libro della composizione del mondo*, in which he studied the heavens. Fra Paolin, a *minorita*, used Venetian in writing the *Liber de regimine rectoris*, to instruct governors how to regulate their lives. Italian moralizing prose abounds in the thirteenth century, in a transition from translation to works of some originality. The *Fiore di virtu* is composed of maxims, observations, and examples taken from biblical, classic, and mediaeval writings.

The oldest example of an Italian vernacular didactic-allegoric poem is the *Tesoretto* of the Florentine Brunetto Latini. Latini was a brave and wise citizen who consecrated his long life to the service of Florence as the chancellor of the commune, as an ambassador, and prior. His principal works are the rehandling of Tullius' *Rhetorica*, and the *Tesoro* and the *Tesoretto*. Brunetto Latini's *Trésor*, written in French, is a vast encyclopedia of mediaeval knowledge, and is divided into three books. The first treats of Creation; then follows universal history from Adam to the author's time. The second book

summarizes Aristotle's *Ethica Nicomachea*. In the third, Ser Brunetto treats of rhetoric. Except in this last part, Latini merely summarizes his sources. Latini's *Trésor* met with extraordinary success, was translated into Italian by Bono Giamboni. He himself made an Italian poetical abridgment of the French prose, which he called *Tesoretto*. It was given allegorical form and became the earliest didactic poem to be written in the vernacular.

Gerardo Patecchio da Cremona's *Splanamento de li proverbii di Salomone* is a dry résumé of Proverbs, Ecclesiastes, and mediaeval moralizing books. His *Noie* enumerates the things that render his life tedious. The *Splanamento* is written in rhymed Alexandrines, and the *Noie* is a *canzone*. The *Libro* of Uguccone of Lodi (middle of thirteenth century) and the *Sermone* of the Milanese Pietro of Barsegape, written before 1274, preach the vanity of riches. Unfortunately this Tuscan literature did not appeal to the common people and was short-lived. There are a few Tuscan dialogue poems treating popular themes; the lamentation of a woman with a surly husband, the woes of a maid desiring to marry. This latter subject forms the argument of a Bolognese ballad in which the discussion is between the maid and her mother, and there is tender affection in the *Lamento della sposa padovana* (written before 1277) for the absence of her crusader husband. Joyous and sad events in the communes inspired poems. At Perugia in 1269, the author of a *canzone* against Charles of Anjou was threatened with a heavy fine, as also were those repeating the song. Towards the end of the thirteenth century another *canzonetta*, "*Egli e tratta una doga del sale, Egli uffici son tutti salati*," sang the shame of Chiaramontesi, who in selling salt at Florence cheated the commune and the people by using a false measure.

Chivalry and the Bible are two chief founts of thirteenth century Italian vernacular literature. The knight, the hero of chivalry, endeavors to realize justice and truth on earth. The religious ideal was embodied in the friar, the hermit, the saint. The actual Knight Errant of chivalry forgot heaven and made others forget it. But the Knight of Christ fasted and lived in poverty, chastity, and prayer; and stories of self-torture and prayers are the foundation for many "Lives of the Saints." In these descriptions of the life of the saints, the soul issues from the hand of God in His image, but the Devil is jealous that "such a vile thing should enjoy that realm which he has lost." In the end the soul is always redeemed.

This spiritual comedy of the soul marks the spirit of thirteenth century religious prose and poetry. The content remains impersonal. It is just "the soul," not a particular soul. Literature still treats of mysteries, legends, and visions. Purgatory and Paradise are the real world.

"Devotions" and "Mysteries" abound. The "Devotion" of Maundy Thursday begins with a banquet of Christ in the house of Lazarus, and is largely composed of the words of Christ and conversation with his Mother Mary and with the Magdalen. Christ's words are spoken in Latin. The "Devotion of Good Friday" recounts the passion and the death of Christ. Mary embraces the cross and laments:

O figlio mio, figlio amoroso
come me lasi sconsolata!
O figlio mio tanto prezioso
como rimango trista, adolarata!
Lo tuo capo e tuto spinoso,
e la tua faza de sangue bagnata!
Altri che ti non voglio per figlio,
o dolce fiato a amoroso giglio!

O my Son, my loving Son, how saddened
Thou leavest me! O my
most precious Son, how grieved
I am and afflicted!
Thy head is all thorny, and Thy
face is bathed with blood! No
other son do I want, but only
Thee, O sweet breath and tender lily!

Mary Magdalene is at Christ's feet, John at His head, and Mary between them.

These early dramatic "Devotions" were presented with all the solemnity of religious feasts. The priests were the actors and actresses. The Devil appeared in his rôle of tempter, but spoke seriously and was not made ridiculous. The moral in these performances was that to attain heaven one had to suffer like Christ. Another play, the *Commedia dell' Anima*, is an imaginary description of the life of the saints. The soul issues from the hand of God pure and in His image, but the Devil gives battle. Literature still treats of mysteries, legends, and visions. Hell consists of lakes of sulphur, valleys of fire, vats of boiling water, dragons with fiery teeth; demons are armed with

whips and red-hot irons. Famous among these visions is the *Purgatorium of St. Patrick*, by Frate Alberico.

In 1258 Ranieri Fasani, abandoning his hermit's cave, appeared in Perugia's streets, imploring sinners to repent and glorify Christ by weeping and flagellation. Other hermits followed: a whirlwind of religious mania, surging through Perugia, spread like a conflagration. Entire populations in great processions, "*Disciplinati di Gesu Cristo*," inundated the land. In winter's bitter cold, breasts and shoulders and feet bleeding and bare, groaning, crying, imploring mercy of God, they confessed their sins and lashed themselves bloodily. The Alps and Apennines heard the terror of their cries, and echoed to those laudi (lyrics of love, praising God, the Virgin, and the saints), and music and love songs were heard no more. Usurers and robbers restored their evil gain, criminals confessed, prison doors opened and captives walked forth, murderers repented and were embraced with tears, exiles returned to their homes. Divine grace prevailed, and men were consumed with heavenly fire.

This torrent of *Flagellanti* poured into Provence, Burgundy, Germany, and Poland, announcing the arrival of the Crucified, to punish sinful men, as had been prophesied by Gioachino and Segarelli. When the frenzy of 1260 had passed, these humble laudators of God formed fraternities, and retired to chapels to execute their discipline, recite their prayers, and express their holy passions. Thus the laud, the improvisation of ignorant men sung in Italian vernacular, and not in Latin, assumed lyrical, narrative, and dialogue forms, but the dialogue gradually prevailed. It is the Italian sacred theatre in germ: a dramatic performance with costumes, scenic mechanism, and properties, appropriate to the sacred characters represented, and with God the Father, Satan, angels, devils, and the dead participating.

The great Piedmontese cyclical drama "*The Passion of Ravello*," presented in Ravello in 1490, is influenced in construction and versification by the French mysteries, but it is composed in pure Italian and is unique in Italian literature. The foundation of the dramatic laud is the liturgy, and not the liturgical drama. It was linked directly with the biblical texts. About one hundred examples of dramatic Umbrian spiritual poetry, the work of different authors, have been preserved. It is impossible to think of these Umbrian lauds without picturing that whirlwind of religious awakening that seized an entire population, those thousands of *Flagellanti*, *Disciplinati di Gesu*

Cristo, marching through snow and ice and bitter winds, lashing themselves and imploring mercy for their sins; it is a dramatic and a most important event of the Middle Ages.

Fra Jacopone da Todi (1230–1306) belonged to the Benedetti family and was a lawyer; his wife's tragic death about 1268 drove him to God. He prayed, fasted, and scourged himself, wandered about the streets dressed in rough sacking, and committed many extravagances. In his numerous laudi he sings his "holy Madness," beseeches God to strike him with a loathsome disease; and he abandons himself to divine ecstasy. His poems rage with anger against the corruption of the Church, and in 1298 he was cast into prison, where he remained until 1303. Three years later Jacopone died in the Franciscan convent of Callazzone. Jacopone da Todi was a saint moved by divine ecstasy. What could be more genuine than this:

Andiam tutti a vedere
Iesu quando dormia.
La terra, l'aria e il cielo
fiorir, rider faccia;
tanta dolcezza e grazia
della sua faccia uscia.

Let us go, all of us, to look at
Jesus when He is sleeping. He
makes the earth, air, and sky all
to blossom and laugh; so much
grace and sweetness shine from His face.

The poetry of Jacopone is filled with rhymed mottoes and proverbs strewn together in sententious and copy-book form. His idol is Mary, and her maternal love. Prayer, scorn, the madness of love, visions, all come straight from his soul. Jacopone is linked with the whole popular literature in Latin as expressed in the *Salve Regina*, the *Ave maria stella*, the *Dies irae*, and in innumerable dramas, lives of saints, canticles and hymns, and homilies. Dante and Tasso imitated him. In the Middle Ages men thought of heaven and hell, and prayed; earthly love also stirred the people and was expressed in vernacular verse. Popular exultancy is expressed in the Sienese *ballata* on the capture of the Castello di Torriella, composed in 1255 by the minstrel Guidaloste of Pistoia. In all these vernacular compositions, the language abounds in dialectal peculiarities.

When the second league of the Lombard cities was formed against

Federico II, the Piedmontese Pier della Caravana sang in Provençal: "Here is our Emperor assembling much people. Lombards, watch well, that you be not reduced to worse than bought slaves, if you stand not firm. Remember the valiant barons of Apulia, who in their homes now have naught but sorrow; look to it that the same does not befall you. You have no wish to love the people of Lamagna, you have no pleasure in their company, far, far from you be these mad dogs. God save Lombardy, Bologna and Milan and their associates, and Brescia and the Mantuan, and the good Marchigiani, that none of them be bondsmen." Thus Piedmont gave to Italy her first poet of liberty.

The Parmesan victory of 1248, Federico's death blow, when the pleb "Gambacorta" carried off the imperial crown, was sung in Latin. Why were Italian battles sung in a foreign or an ancient language? Why did vernacular Italian so long delay its literary manifestations? Because Latin was the Italian ancestral language, which alone was thought worthy of expressing the learning of the wise, the achievements of the cities, and martial conquests. But why are the literary monuments of the mortal combat of the Lombard communes expressed in Provençal? The answer may be that the first impulse toward an artificial poetry in a new language sprang from the chivalric principle, which reached its height before the national principle was ripe. But Provençal poetry was such an artificial system that the dialects of Upper Italy were not fitted to render its subtleties. About twenty-five Italians are known who sang in Provençal, and only two are Tuscans.

These rhymers living within the valley of the Po constituted the Lombard period which partly overlapped the first Latin period and partly accompanied the development of the Italian vernacular. In the Latin period the national element rules, in the Lombard period the feudal element mixes with the national and with the religious; in the Sicilian period the chivalric element shapes an art which is feudal and of the court. Didactic and narrative poetry flourished in the North, religious lyric in Central Italy, and the South Italians produced love lyrics—all of these being in the vernacular. Latin, French, and Provençal poetry furnished the models; originality is scarce. The *canzone senza tornata* (return) was introduced from the Provençal. The sonnet is the fusion of two *strambotti* of eight verses. The *discordo* passed from Provence into France and then into Italy.

The thirteenth century transitional poetry of Florence and Tuscany is an intermediary between the Sicilian school and the New Style. Chiaro Davanzati, who flourished in the second half of the thirteenth century, represents this transition. The lover blames love, but he cannot escape from it; the poet suffers torments and the lady resists. Between these two ages which differed in spirit and form there was a border line in which the old and the new joined. Oblivion was the lot of Guittone d'Arezzo (1230-1294), who was the first to make poetry national, and who gave the first example of learned Italian prose.

Guittone reflects this Tuscan transformation of the Sicilian manner. His hundred and eighteen sonnets and twenty *canzoni* imitated troubadour models. But when he entered the religious order of the *Frati Gaudenti Cavalieri di Santa Maria* his religious *canzoni* and *sonetti* are in praise of Christ, the Virgin, and the Saints. His noble *canzone Ai Lasso*, deploring the misfortunes of Florence after Montaperto (September 4, 1260), is an historical document. Pistoia also boasts a little band of poets, and the Pisan rhymers too are Guittonians and monotonously repeat the same ideas. Between the Guittonian poetry of Arezzo, Pistoia, Pisa, Lucca, Siena, Florence, and Bologna, and the lyric of the Meridional rhymesters, the difference is considerable. The latter is more free in its movements, richer in images, more vigorous and harmonious. It is wholly Italian.

In the same manner as *trovatore* and *improvisatore* had diffused the Provençal lyric in Northern Italy, and French and late Provençal lyric in the South, so too a great current of French epic found its Italian outlet through the pilgrimages to Rome. Down the French roads pilgrims descended into Italy, bringing with them French legends. Thus it happens that the earliest Italian vernacular prose is of French or Latin inspiration. The Carolingian epopee, the Breton cycle of legends of King Arthur and his court, Tristram, Lancelot, Guinevere, Isolde the Beautiful, and Isolde of the white hand, the so-called *materia de Bretagna*, were narrated in Tuscan prose. Orlando became an Italian hero. The *Istorietta troiana* and the *Fatti di Cesare*, translations and manipulations of French texts, also are treated in the Middle Age spirit. Italian legends attribute the founding of Padua, Pisa, Verona, Piacenza, Mantua, Modena, Parma, to fugitives from vanquished Troy.

The *Cura sanitatis Tiberii* is an Italian legend which relates that

Pontius Pilate was tried by the Emperor for causing the death of Christ, was imprisoned in a city of Tuscany and, driven mad by his accusing conscience, committed suicide. Wholly Italian is the legend of Andrea da Barberino. In his romance *Guerin Meschino*, he speaks of the marvels of the cave of the sibyl in the mountains of Norcia where there is a realm of love, flowering fields, and palaces glittering with gold and gems. There captive maidens and cavaliers banquet, make love, and dance; but every Saturday, all are transformed into reptiles. In the thirteenth century a Dominican bishop, Giacomo da Voragine, translated the Latin *Legenda aurea* into Italian vernacular. The *Specchio di vera penitenza* by Frate Jacopo Passavanti and the *Fiore di Virtù*, a kind of allegory probably composed by Friar Tommaso Gozzadini, contain legends of which some are in fact *novelle*.

The *Cantari* recite legendary adventures of the heroes of France, of Brittany, and of Greece and Rome. The Florentine Antonio Pucci composed *L'Istoria di Apollonio di Tiro* (The History of Apollonius of Tyre), *L'Istoria della Reina d'Oriente* (The History of the Queen of the Orient); and *Madonna Lionessa* and the *Gismirante*, which are probably legendary. A *Storia de Troia et de Roma* in Roman dialect, drawn up soon after the middle of the thirteenth century, is perhaps the first vernacular compilation of ancient history. Other novels introduce historical personages and depict the contemporary customs of princely courts, enlivened by the songs and recitals of minstrels. The twenty *Conti di antichi cavalieri* is derived from Breton legends, mediaeval history, and classic antiquities.

In the *Chronicon novalicense*, second half of the eleventh century, French and Lombard elements are fused. The wars between Lombards and Franks inspired some legends. The terrible deeds of Attila furnished others. Perhaps the first of these Lombard legends, the conquest of Italy, is the *Donna Lombarda*. Paolo Diacono relates that Rosmunda yielded in 573 at the instigations of Longino, prefect of Ravenna, and offered to her husband Elmichi a cup of poison. Suspicious Elmichi obliged Rosmunda to swallow part of the potion. They both died. This atrocious sixth century murder is the source of the *Donna Lombarda* song.

The century closed leaving the Italian people with a language already formed, a variety of metrical forms, an art of poetry, a philosophy and a concept of life, and a literature which was didactic and

allegorical. Provençal poetry became the diversion of Italian courts; Italian troubadours used the Provençal language so that the chivalric romances of Brittany and even the French epic became almost Italian. Provençal troubadours found lordly patrons; and Italian cities gave hospitality. The lady and the baron welcomed the visitor who brought relief from the monotony of eventless days.

CHAPTER V

Political History of Sicily in the Thirteenth Century

IN THE period covered by the Suabian and Angevin dynasties in Sicily and South Italy are included the second and third struggles between the papacy and the Empire, the last four Crusades, the first and second Lombard leagues, the apogee of theocracy with Innocent III and its decadence with Boniface VIII, Frederic Barbarossa's attempt to make Italy the seat of a new Empire, the monarchy of Southern Italy joined to the Empire, the Italian expansion of the first three Angevins and then the decadence of the dynasty after the Sicilian Vespers. Finally, it is the period of the communes, which in Northern Italy opposed the Empire yet fought among themselves as Guelphs and Ghibellines, and against the podestas and military captains. It is the period in which mediaeval society became modern.

In 1154 the German Emperor Frederic I (Barbarossa) descended into Northern Italy, where, though the communes had overthrown the institutions of the Saxon emperors, they theoretically recognized yet contested imperial authority whenever they thought it was opposed to their *buone consuetudini* (good customs). Frederic sought to set the minor communes against the major, the countryside against the cities; but few communes came to his aid and the other communes united against him. After the first Lombard League we have frequent examples of leagues of communes that at times aided Otto and Frederic Barbarossa; and also we have leagues of communes against communes. But though the leagues were transitory, the hatreds outlived them. The struggle also went on within each commune, between aristocracy and commonality, between great merchants and small artisans, between Guelph and Ghibelline, between one *contrada* (ward) and another; between one house and another.

On his fifth descent into Italy, Frederic I was defeated in the battle of Legnano, May 29, 1176, and was forced to yield to Pope Alexander III and the League of Communes. But the Pope thought only of the papacy, and the communes thought only of making Italy

a perpetual federation. The first Lombard League is the epic page of the Italian communal *risorgimento*. A last event of the history of Frederic Barbarossa was the favor he granted to Milan, which he had previously fought so bitterly. He celebrated there the marriage of his son Henry VI with Constance, heiress of the Norman throne of Sicily, which marriage conferred on the German Empire a right of succession to the Southern monarchy. Thus the eventual union of the Empire and the Southern Italian monarchy became possible, and another cause of dissension was added to the perpetual struggle between the Empire and the papacy.

The Empress Constance gave birth to a boy Frederic II, whom his contemporaries called *stupor mundi* (the marvel of the world). Born in Italy at Jesi (December 26, 1194), he passed the first years of his life at Foligno. In 1198 he was proclaimed king of Sicily, marrying the sister of the King of Aragon in 1209, where in 1215 he obtained the title of King. In 1220 he was crowned emperor at Rome. In 1225 he married Isabella of Brienne, daughter of King John of Jerusalem, and later he contracted a third marriage with a sister of Henry III of England. He died December 4, 1250, at Fiorentino.

Frederic II was the only Italian among the Ghibelline Caesars. He had Norman and German blood, he was born in Italy, he was Emperor in Germany, King in Sicily. In the words of Lanzoni, he was "as alert and imaginative as an Italian, as bold and crafty as a Norman, as sceptical as a Greek, as voluptuous as an Arabian, as tenacious as a German. He was handsome, very cultured, spoke five languages, had an open mind, sagacious judgment, few scruples, superfine diplomacy." From 1208 to 1250 Frederic II governed the kingdom of Sicily with authority and with majesty. He was *condottiere*, legislator, man of science, and a poet; and the learned of all countries found sympathy and admiration at his court. Frederic II was devoted to sciences, arts, and letters. Some maintain that Italian poetry was born at his court. He kept near him that great genius Pietro delle Vigne, and raised him to the highest honors. He had a splendid court and a family of beautiful children.

Frederic protected the Arabic legislation of Sicily and the Arabic scientific impulse. He encouraged the school of Salerno; he founded a university in Naples (1224), where every branch of learning was taught, every creed tolerated, every intellectual pursuit supported. The salaries of its teachers were paid by him, and he favored the

Italian vernacular, in opposition to the Latin of his adversary, the Pope. Frederic restrained the nobles, established a parliament, and reformed the magistracy. He dictated a code of laws and augmented the revenues of the state. The two great administrative divisions of the kingdom of Sicily were governed by captains of justice. These provinces constituted the true *Regno*, as it had come down from the Normans. But the imperial government extended to Italy, which was considered as part of the German Empire. With him the third struggle between the papacy and the Empire broke out. Gregory IX excommunicated him three times in a single year. When he wished to lead the communes of Italy back to the agreements of Constance, Frederic found himself faced by a second Lombard League.

Frederic conquered this League at Cortenuova on November 27, 1237. By sending to the Campidoglio at Rome, as to his capital, the rich spoils of Cortenuova, Frederic alarmed the Pope, who excommunicated him; deprived him of the *Regno* and the Empire; everywhere sought competitors against him; denounced him as an atheist, heretic, epicurean, Mahometan; proclaimed a Crusade, and summoned a council against him. After Gregory's death the struggle was continued by Innocent IV. The battle of Parma of 1248 avenged Cortenuova and inflicted upon the Emperor an irrevocable defeat. Frederic's star was setting; against him public and private misfortunes accumulated. His own son Enzo, beautiful, chivalric, valorous, the idol of poets and women, was defeated at Fossalta and taken prisoner by the Bolognese. It was the last blow. The Emperor died in the last days of 1250. With him there disappeared the greatest and most complex figure of the Middle Ages.

In Sicily and South Italy there was hatred against the house of Suabia. The greater cities of Sicily aspired to the privileges enjoyed by the towns of Tuscany and Lombardy. Pope Innocent IV unfurled the standard of the Church in 1254, occupied Naples with his army, and sent friars and orators to raise the people throughout the country. From 1254 to 1256 the pontifical vicar presided over the Sicilian confederation in the name of the Church, but it was an imperfect league between contending feudatories and cities in which aristocratic and monarchical sentiments still ruled. In Germany, Frederic's son Conrad IV (Corrado), though elected King of the Romans, was excluded from the imperial throne. In Italy, Manfred, natural son of Frederic II by a beautiful and astute Sicilian woman, in the name of

Conrad defended the crown of Sicily from 1250 to 1258. Then he reported the death of Conradin, the six-year-old son of Conrad IV, who himself had died in 1254, and on the 11th of August 1258 assumed the crown as sole heir of his father Frederic II.

Manfred's coronation reanimated the Ghibellines, who, with the aid of Manfred, won on September 4, 1260, the battle of Montaperto. After Montaperto and the death of Pope Alexander IV, was Manfred's brief period of fortune. The tumults in Rome drove the papal court into exile; Manfred's daughter Costanza married Peter of Aragon; Manfred, after the death of his wife Beatrice of Savoy, married Elena, a Greek, and a descendant of the Comneni. Never was the house of Suabia so powerful in Italy. In this brief breathing space Manfred turned to the arts of government. The King was the most gentle cavalier of Italy; his wife one of the most beautiful women in the world.

For fourteen years the popes sought a competitor against him, knocking at all doors, until Urban IV, a French Pope, turned to Charles of Anjou, brother of King Louis IX of France and count of Provence. Charles was a covetous, valorous, violent prince, who already had stretched his rapacious hand across the Alps upon several cities of Piedmont. Instigated by his ambitious wife, whose three sisters were queens, and who wished to be a queen herself, and aided by two French popes, Urban IV and Clement IV, Charles of Anjou moved forward to the conquest of the *Regno*.

On the 25th of February 1265, Clement IV promulgated the bull ceding "the kingdom of Sicily" to Charles, to hold in fief from the Church. Charles landed in Italy with a handful of followers and in the autumn his army crossed the Alps. After his coronation at the Vatican the 6th of January 1266, and accompanied by the Pope's legate and the Italian Guelphs, Charles advanced rapidly. Cowardice or treachery opened for him the passage of the Garigliano, delivered San Germano and Rocc' Arce into his hands, and suffered him to cross the Volturno without opposition. Only at Benevento was there fighting, for Manfred was there February 26, 1266. The Germans and Sicilian Saracens fought bravely, the Italians fled, Manfred rushed upon the ranks of the enemy and found death. A blackguard soldier threw his body across an ass and cried through the camp, "Who will buy Manfred?" Over his corpse hostile soldiers raised a pile of stones; but pontifical hatred denied him even this humble

sepulture, and the corpse of the Suabian hero was flung to the dogs on the banks of the Verde, and Naples applauded the conqueror. Apulia, Calabria, and Sicily surrendered.

No courtly rhymers of Sicily and Apulia expressed grief for the descendant of so many emperors, fallen in battle, with his house and with his kingdom; but a foreign troubadour Americo di Peguilhan sang: "All honours and all glorious actions were ruined and sank on the day that death killed him who most esteemed them, him the most pleasing ever born of woman, the valiant King Manfred, the captain of valour and of all virtue. Now honour wanders forth alone and weeping, for there is no man nor thing that calls her, neither does count, nor marquis nor king come forward to invite her. Now dishonour does whatsoever it wished to do. I would that this my *sirvente* should go throughout all the world and all the seas to find the man that can give news of King Arthur and when he shall return."

Siena and Pisa the only Italian provinces remaining Ghibelline turned their eyes upon the grandson of Frederic II, the young Conradin, who in 1267 descended from Germany into Italy with 10,000 horse and an army of infantry. Charles' army was better disciplined, and better commanded. They joined battle at Tagliacozzo, on the plain of San Valentino on the 23rd of August 1268. At first Conradin appeared victorious, but when the French army attacked, the ranks of Conradin were broken; Charles' victory was complete. On the 29th of October 1268, Conradin, a youth of sixteen, last scion of a long line of emperors and kings, himself rightful sovereign of Sicily and Apulia, was executed in the marketplace of Naples, with the young Duke of Austria his beloved childhood companion. Fair and comely, and with intrepid countenance and firm step they mounted the scaffold. Conradin raised from the ground the severed head of the Duke of Austria, pressed it to his bosom, kissed it repeatedly, embraced the executioner, then laid his head upon the block and the ax fell. With Conradin expired the glorious Suabian dynasty in Italy.

To render the Empire Italian, as Frederic II attempted to do, was a concept worthy of a great mind, but the Pope was an insuperable obstacle. With Manfred, there was a moment when it seemed possible for the house of Suabia to unite the whole peninsula. But Manfred also was historically allied to Ghibellinism, and had against him the

papacy and communal Italy. He could not succeed. The definitive victory of the Guelphs, after the battle of Benevento, lifted to its greatest height the power of the communes, but it was also a preparation for the seigniories in Northern Italy. The Guelph victory founded the authority of various podestas and captains of the people (*capitani del popolo*), who then changed into *signori* (lords). The separation from the Empire of the kingdom of the Two Sicilies, the last seat of the German emperors, completed the disappearance from Italy of the imperial idea.

Clement had granted the realm to Charles on condition that the ecclesiastics should enjoy special exemptions, but Charles taxed clergy, Hospitalers and Templars, confiscated Church property, forbade all commercial relations between his subjects and Rome, debased the coinage, and bestowed countless boroughs, villages, and farms upon his followers. Thus the hated foreigner was established in Sicily, and the new feudataries, to whom a thousand new artifices were taught by the frenzy of avarice, scarcely left a piece of bread to the cultivators who were obliged to dispute the carrion with the crows. At Naples a cavern lashed by the waves was converted into a prison teeming with tortures, where the shrieks and moanings of those festering in fetters anguished the listeners. Everywhere seduction and violence were practiced and the sovereign spurned those who complained. Charles now assumed the office of Roman senator and imperial vicar. With rapid strides he advanced toward the rule of all Italy. As head of the Guelph party in Italy, he went in person into Tuscany; but in the meantime he did not pay tribute to the Pope and he did not go on the Crusade.

In the year 1277 Nicholas III was raised to the papal throne. The German Emperor Rudolph and King Charles were the chief obstacles to his vast ambitions. He therefore employed them against each other, and the authority of the Church against both. Constance, of the house of Suabia, daughter of Manfred, wife of King Peter III of Aragon, claimed the crowns of Sicily and Apulia. Peter prepared for war, Charles of Anjou took military precautions. Forty-two royal castles served to keep the island of Sicily subdued. New outrages shed a gloom over the festival of Easter at Palermo, the ancient capital of the kingdom. Half a mile outside the city on the brink of the ravine of Oreto was the church of Santo Spirito. A square enclosure shaded by cypresses, honey-combed with tombs, and adorned with sepulchral

monuments surrounded it. On Easter Monday, 1282, which fell on the 31st of March, at the hour of vespers, religion and custom crowded this flowering plain, with citizens wending their way to this church.

As they walked, sat in groups, spread the tables, danced upon the grass, the followers of the justiciary suddenly appeared amongst them, joined in the dances and addressed indecent words and gestures to many women. A young wife with her husband and relations walked toward the church. Drouet, a Frenchman, seized her and searched her bosom for concealed weapons. She fell fainting into her husband's arms, who shouted, "Death, death to the French!" At the same moment an Italian youth slew Drouet. "Death, death to the French!" The Sicilians rushed upon their opponents. Great was the slaughter; there were two hundred, and two hundred fell. In Palermo the slaughter continued, it was resumed on the morrow. The altars afforded no protection; tears and prayers were unheeded; old men, women, and infants were slaughtered.

The atrocity of the Vespers proved the salvation of Sicily; there could be no compromise. The Palermo people assembled in parliament, abolished the monarchy, and established a commonwealth under the protection of Rome. The banner of Palermo, a golden eagle in a red field, was unfolded, and the keys of St. Peter were quartered with it. Town to town, heard the story; Boniface, captain of the people of Corleone, with three thousand men scoured the surrounding country. Within the month of April this revolution, begun at Palermo, was finally accomplished at Messina. "In it fell," says Villani, "about four thousand French." The Vespers revolution was unpremeditated, popular; a unique phenomenon in the Middle Ages.

Charles was at the papal court when he heard of the Sicilian massacre. He hastened to Naples and assembled an army of fifteen thousand horse and sixty thousand foot, together with about two hundred vessels of war and transport. The Sicilian parliament offered the crown to Peter of Aragon on condition that he should maintain all the laws, privileges, and usages of the times of William the Good, and should aid Sicily with his own forces until the final expulsion of the enemy. Peter replied that he loved Sicily and perceived with pleasure her loyalty to the house of Suabia, but that he must have time to reflect upon so important a proposal. For several days Peter kept silence, then he replied to the Sicilian orators that he accepted the

crown, and on the 20th of August he landed at Trapani with an army of less than twelve thousand horse and foot, and proceeded to the capital.

Peter granted the privileges which were enjoyed in the days of good King William, promising to confirm them by diplomas; and thereupon the assembled parliament swore fealty to him, and a great banquet was served. Charles raised the siege of Messina and retreated in haste. On the 2nd of October, Peter entered Messina, dismounted at the cathedral, returned thanks to God, then entered into familiar discourse with the citizens. Magnificent public festivals followed. Parliament granted him the necessary subsidies for the war. The queen and her children joined him at Messina, where on the 25th a parliament was called, to set the state in order before his departure from the island. On the 10th of November 1285 died King Peter of Aragon, at the age of forty-six, in the prime of mental and bodily vigor, and at the summit of his fortune; for he beheld the host of France dispersed; the King of Majorca humbled; Charles of Anjou, Philip the Bold, and Pope Martin depart this life; the new King of Naples his prisoner; that kingdom in confusion; Sicily submissive and secure; his fleet mistress of the Mediterranean; and his own power so much increased by the fame of victory that he was able everywhere to keep in check even his own rebellious subjects.

On the 10th of March 1285, Peter's son Alfonso III, King of Aragon, declared his brother James to whom his father had left the kingdom of Sicily his heir, on condition that he should leave Sicily to Frederic. And then at the age of twenty-seven, strong and robust, his kingdom formally secured, his marriage at hand with the beautiful daughter of Edward I, on the 18th of June 1285 he died. By the death, without issue, of King Alfonso, the crown of Aragon devolved upon James, King of Sicily, who transferred the crown of Sicily to his brother Frederic III.

The death of the King caused grief throughout Sicily. James had proclaimed himself king on receiving the news of the death of his father Peter, and on the 2nd of February 1286 was crowned in the name of God, and of the Virgin, by the Bishop of Cefalu, the Archimandrite of Messina, and many other Sicilian prelates, as well as by the bishops of Nicastro and Squillaci. On the 5th of February he promulgated the *constitutions and immunities*. They commenced with a brief statement of the social compact which accords civil rights

to all, unites the ruler with the subject, promises protection to all clergy and church property, and regulates the administration of civil and criminal justice and military service. The new sovereignty bound itself by a treaty of friendship with Aragon, from whence alone it could hope for succor. And lastly the King attempted to soften the wrath of the Pope, by a message of obedience and devotion, which Honorius ignored. This was the third repulse given by Rome to proffers of peace from Sicily.

On the 18th of January 1296, in the cathedral of Catania, the representatives of the nation proclaimed Frederic king. At early morning of the 25th of March 1296, he was crowned as Frederic III and anointed king of Sicily in the cathedral of Palermo. The constitution of the state was remodeled. Frederic shared the legislative power with the representatives of the people. He decreed that every year a general parliament, composed of the counts, barons, and syndics of the communes, should assemble, to provide conjointly with the king for the administration of government; and that the king should be bound like any other individual by the laws decreed by himself and the parliament.

Frederic III confirmed the franchises and privileges granted by the Suabians and by his own Aragonese predecessors, providing that doubtful cases should be interpreted in favor of the subject. It was further enacted that the officers of the exchequer should all be Sicilians, and the time and manner was fixed in which they should render an account of their administration. Thus the Sicilians came forth from their revolution in the thirteenth century, with a popular parliament and counselors elected to represent them, and with a political constitution comparable with those of the most civilized nations of modern times; and a government superior to that of any other part of Italy. Later on, the power and rapacity of the nobles brought feudal anarchy, and with the extinction of the house of Aragon and with the Spanish succession Sicily became joined with Naples under a Spanish viceroy.

This separation of Sicily is the first sign of the Angevin decadence. Notwithstanding an interminable war, Sicily was not recovered; and when another French adventurer Charles of Valois was called by the Pope to the aid of the feeble successor of Charles I of Anjou, all ended in the abject peace of Caltabellotta. King Robert of Naples, son of Charles II of Anjou, and the most notable of the successors of

Charles I, did not succeed in regaining Sicily; he could not maintain his kingdom. He was a learned and scholarly king, protector of poets and scholars, but timid, unwarlike.

The house of Anjou contributed nothing of value to Italy, because it was Guelph, because it was foreign, because its rule was withdrawn from Lombardy, from Tuscany; and finally it could hardly govern the *Regno* itself. As for the papacy and the Guelph commune, which conquered with the sword of the house of Anjou, they reaped but a sad harvest from their victory. The papacy gave itself a master; the northern commune sank into the *signoria* (seignior).

Thus passed away the unfortunate thirteenth century; that age of lofty aspirations unfulfilled. The human intellect had awakened, but the human conscience slumbered. That wonderful century passed away and left as its legacy vast intellectual progress but spiritual death. That hundred years of effort and suffering are symbolized in the popes Innocent III and Boniface VIII, who "came in like a fox, ruled like a lion, and died like a dog." In intellect and learning Boniface was superior to Innocent III, in pride his equal, but in all that dignifies ambition he was immeasurably his inferior. In this thirteenth century, the jealousy of Pope and Emperor burned furiously, destroyed the Hohenstaufen Empire and left Rome a prey to her own champion, Charles of Anjou, who for three years prevented the election of a pope; and even when the papal see was nominally filled the Angevin adventurer guided its counsels and prompted its decrees.

CHAPTER VI

Florentine Women for Three Centuries

Firenza dentro dalla cerchie antica . . .
si stave in pace sobria e pudica.

Florence within her ancient walls
stood at peace, sober and modest.

IN THE thirteenth century Florence was divided into four quarters, with four gates. "On Sunday all the noble citizens of Florence assembled about the Duomo and the Baptistry of San Giovanni, where the marriages and the peace treaties were executed and all solemn acts of the government of the Commune." Men wore simple leathern belts and buckles of bone, the people were dressed in coarse garments of chamois skin; there was no luxury. According to the Latin traditions the mother of the family stayed at home and spun wool. Simple in her dress, "happy with her spindle and her distaff," she fashions the garments of her husband while the grandmother spins,

Favoleggiando con la sua familia,
de' Troiani, di Fiesole e di Roma;

Relating to her family the tales
of the Trojans, of Fiesole and of Rome.

The chronicle relates that in 1250 at the time of the popular regulations, called the *primo popolo* or the *popolo vecchio*, the Florentines lived on coarse food, at little expense. Men and women dressed in heavy stuffs and many wore animal skins and caps. All were shod with leggings, and the women wore plain blouses and narrow heavy skirts of scarlet from Ipro or from Como, with the ancient form of girdle, and a hooded cloak lined with fur. In the thirteenth century 100 lire was the usual dowry for a wife, and a dowry of 200 or 300 lire was a dazzling sum. One of those "dazzling dowries" of 200 lire was that which Gemma di Manetto Donati brought to Dante Alighieri.* In the fourteenth century a bride's dowry was 325 gold florins

* "*Nuovo Documento concernente Gemma Donati*," U. Dorini; *Bollettino della Societa Dantesca Italiana*.

and 35 gold florins for the trousseau, or *donora*. But in 1493 the dowry was 800 florins, the cost of the "chief trousseau" was 240 florins, besides 340 florins which was paid for the presents given the couple by the groom's parents. An account of the wedding in the fifteenth century of a woman of the Valori family and a man of the Strozzi relates that 2,000 florins were given for dowry and trousseau together.*

In the thirteenth century twenty years or even eighteen was an advanced age for a man to marry. Fifteen years was the "height of bloom" for a man, and twelve or thirteen for a girl. Marriage contracts were made between mere children. An ancient commentator of Dante says: "They were married in the cradle." Guido Cavalcanti was wed in this fashion. Probably Beatrice Portinari (Dante's Beatrice) was very young when she wed Messer Simone de Bardi. Such marriages often led to tragedy, since they were usually arranged between the parents, and there was rarely question of love. The "my lady," the "gentle lady" of the poets, the lady of the sonnet and of the ballad, remained outside of the home and the family. Nevertheless the lady of the rhymes existed, and such love verses often were used to conceal a real amour.

Umiliama de Cerchi was a wife and mother at sixteen years, and the widow of a brutal husband at twenty, when she returned to her father's home, abhorring a second marriage. Thus she laments: "I see there is no faith on earth since a father can deceive and rob his daughter. Let my father therefore hold me henceforth not as daughter but as slave and hand-maiden." So she converted her home into a convent and shut herself up in her father's tower, while civil war raged and stones were shot from the ballista and dropped from the trapdoors and the house was set afire. In 1246 at the age of twenty-seven she died.

In 1239, in a marriage between the two head families of the opposing Florentine factions, a maiden of the Buondelmonti, a Guelph, "very brave and wise and lovely," was married into the Uberti family. When some Uberti were ambushed by the Buondelmonti, Messer Neri degli Uberti sent his wife back to her father saying, "I do not wish to have sons of a traitor race," and the marriage was annulled. When her father gave her in a second marriage to a Sienese count, the victim said to her new husband, "Kind sir, I beg you not to force me

* Carlo Carnesecchi, *Donne e lusso a Firenze nel secolo XVI*, Firenze, Pellas, 1902.

or do me harm, for you have been deceived and I am not your wife and cannot be, since I am wife of Messer Neri degli Uberti of Florence, who is the wisest and best man in Italy."

The chivalrous count comforted her and gave her freedom, and she disappeared from the world in the Florentine convent of Monticelli. The monasteries sheltered many such unfortunate women.

Lasciar vorria lo mondo e Dio servire,
e dipartirmi d'ogni vanitate;
. . . marito non vorria ne sire,
Ne star al mondo per mia volontate
e verso Dio la mia persona torna
Lo padre mio mi fa stare pensosa,
che di servire a Cristo mi distorna,
ne saccio a cui mi vuol dar per isposa.

I wish to leave this world and serve God
Leaving behind me all vanity;
Husband I do not wish, nor master,
Nor aught in the world for mine own pleasure.
Seeing that every man is clothed in evil
For each and all I feel disdain,
And wish to give myself complete to God
But lo my father keeps me in suspense
Wishing to turn me from this service to my Christ
And give me to I know not whom, for wife.

Noble Buondelmonte de' Buondelmonti (d. 1215) had promised to wed a daughter of Messer Oderigo Giantruffetti. But one day in passing the house of the Donati, a gentlewoman, the wife of Messer Forteguerra, called him, and showing him one of her daughters said: "Whom have you taken for wife? I was saving this one for you." And when he looked at the girl he was enamored, but replied, "I have given my word and I can't do otherwise now." To which Madonna Aldruda said, "Yes, you can, I will pay the penalty for you." And Buondelmonte, looking at the girl, replied, "And I do want her." So leaving the other whom he had sworn to wed, he married her. On the morning of Easter 1215, Buondelmonte was murdered on the Ponte Vecchio by the father of the betrayed woman. On the same bier, with his head in her lap, the fatal seducer was carried weeping through the city.

One chronicler says, "The city of Florence was divided into two factions in such a manner that there was no man nor woman, no

monk nor priest, who was not on one side or the other." In the home of Messer Vieri de Cerchi, on the morning of April 23, 1300, a few days before the bloody Guelphic riot, Madonna Caterina, a Bardi and wife of Messer Vieri, was showing the guests to their places at a sumptuous banquet. One of the Donati women being placed near a gentlewoman from Pistoia, of the Cancellieri family, Caterina's husband warned her: "Don't do that, they do not agree. Put somebody between them." "Sir," said the Donati woman, "you do very wrong to make me or mine your political or personal enemies and I wish to leave." The enraged Cerchi replied, "Go then." The husband of the Donati, grieved at the scandal, made excuses and politely insisted that his wife remain; but the remedy was worse than the evil, for with a loud voice she upbraided him. Then the husband, "even though he was a good knight," exclaimed, "women certainly are the devil."

In November 1301, Florence fell into the hands of the French "Peacemaker." Six days of sacking and slaughter, when every man did evil to whom he would. On every side, the search of hiding places, the carrying off of goods, and flight. Palaces were in flames, shops and homes were looted, men were tortured and murdered. Bands roamed the countryside, robbing, burning, killing. The men fled, and the women and children were left at the mercy of the enemy. "They came into our house in the Mercato Vecchio at night, stole all they could find, though the evening before we had taken away what we cared for most. There were no men with us, for they had left in the evening. That same night another gang came into the house and stole what was left. And after they were done with their robbing, the Tosinghi and the Medici went about offering themselves to the women. Nor do I wish to omit the fact that that night the children, both boys and girls, were left naked on the beds and their garments and coverings carried off."

Notwithstanding the hatred between the families, Ippolito de' Buondelmonti loved Lionora de Bardi and revealed the secret to his mother, who persuaded an aunt of Lionora, abbess in the convent of Monticelli, to bring the lovers together. One night when Ippolito was on his way to one of these clandestine meetings, he was stopped by the police in front of Lionora's house. To save the honor of his beloved he pretended to be a thief, and was condemned to death. On the way to his execution he said to his guards, "Let me pass the house

of the Bardi that I may ask pardon for the hatred that I have borne them as their enemy."

When Lionora saw Ippolito go by bound and with a cord about his neck, she rushed out of the door, disheveled and weeping, and threw herself into his arms crying: "While I live you shall not kill Ippolito, for he is innocent. I demand that you give up my husband and lover, otherwise I shall call on God and on the world to avenge such cruelty, asking God with his eyes of perfect justice to look upon your wicked sentences and villainous judgments." The mayor called the fathers of the two lovers "who comprehended the matter rightly, and there in the presence of the mayor and the people they concluded the marriage. And where for two hundred years the Buondelmonti and the Bardi had been enemies, they now became such great friends that they seemed all of one blood."

The legend of the living sepulcher is also one of love, and is referred to the year 1393. Ginevra degli Amicri was beloved by Antonio dei Rondinelli, but her father married her to Francesco degli Agolanti. She swooned, was believed dead and was buried in San Reparata. She recovered her senses within the tomb and, guided by a feeble ray of moonlight, mounted the stairs and removed the gravestone, and, her white form passing close under the campanile of the street named after her "Della Morte," she knocked at her husband's door and he came to the window. "Who is there? Who knocks?" "I am your Ginevra. You do not hate me?" The terrified husband promised prayers and masses for the poor wandering soul and bolted the door. Then she knocked at her father's door in Mercato Vecchio, and the mother appeared. "Open. I am your daughter." "Go in peace, O blessed spirit," answered the mother and closed the window. Then she went to her lover's house. He too believed her to be a spirit but "wished to see if the spirit will harm." He called his mother and the other women of the family and they comforted her. She wished to be considered dead to her husband and desired to marry her lover, and the episcopal tribunal consented. Love again had triumphed over Death.

One of the most poetic and touching legends of married and maternal love is the story of Annalena. A messenger arrived at the house of Annalena Malatesta and announced, "Madonna, your husband Messer Baldaccio has been stabbed to death in the palace of the Signoria and flung from the window and his head cut off, as that of a

traitor and malefactor." Annalena, who though so very young already had a small son by Baldaccio, ran to the cruel magistrate who had widowed her, and by her tears and her pleadings saved the property from confiscation, for her child. Then the child, her Guidantonio, died and Annalena made a cloister of her home. Its walls enclosed the brief romance of her marriage and of her maternity, the memories of a cradle and of two coffins. In the very rooms where she was a mother, she returned to God, and as mother of virgins she gently grew old.

What a contrast to the simplicity of Florentine life in the early thirteenth century is this account of fourteenth century luxury. "The women of Florence being much addicted to extravagant ornaments of crowns and garlands of gold and silver and of pearls and precious stones, to nets and strings of pearls and other head ornaments of great cost; and likewise to brocaded gowns of different materials and silk embroideries in many styles, with trimmings of pearls and often with four or six rows of gilded silver buttons; and with brooches of pearls and precious stones forming various symbols and letters." Therefore on the calendar of April 1330 it was ordered that no woman should wear any crown or garland, either of gold or of silver, nor of pearls, nor jewels, nor of silk, nor even of colored paper; nor nets or braids of any sort, unless very simple, nor any garment brocaded or embroidered, unless the design was woven; nor anything striped or barred, except in two colors; nor any trimming of gold or silver, nor silk or any precious stone, not even enamel or glass; nor more than two finger rings, nor any girdle or belt of more than twelve bars of silver.

No one might wear clothes made of *sciamito*, or dresses embroidered in silk or provided with trains more than two yards in length. Headpieces measuring more than a yard and a quarter were also forbidden, as were all ornaments, including ermine, except to cavaliers and their women. Men were not allowed to wear ornaments or silver belts, or jackets of taffeta or silk or camel's hair. And no feast might have more than "three courses or trenchers." This meant that not more than forty guests could be entertained at one feast. Brides were permitted an escort of not more than six women. For the feasts on the occasion of the knighting of new cavaliers, not more than one hundred trenchers of three courses were allowed.

The chronicle concludes: "When these prohibitions were formu-

lated they were much commended and praised by all the Italians; and if the women used extravagant ornaments they were brought to moderation; all women grieved greatly for this, but they all renounced these excesses for reason of the severe commands, and the rules were greatly commended, for they were useful and honest; and almost all the cities of Tuscany and many in the other parts of Italy sent to Florence for copies of said orders to have them confirmed in their own cities."

In spite of the statement that "all the Florentine women obeyed the laws," Messer Amerigo when censured by the city Priors because the law was not obeyed replied: "Sirs: I have all my life studied to be reasonable; and now when I thought I knew something, find that I know nothing; when I am seeking the ornaments forbidden to our women, according to the orders you have given me, the arguments which they proffer are such as can be found in no laws and I would like to mention some of them to you. A woman is found with a fancy fillet on her hood. My lawyer says, 'Tell me your name for you have an embroidered fillet.' The good woman takes off the fillet which she had fastened to the hood with a pin and, holding it in her hand, says that it is a garland.

"Or one goes on and finds a garment with many buttons on the front. One says to the woman, 'You may not wear these buttons.' She replies, 'Yes, I can, these are not buttons but knobs. If you do not believe me look, they have no stems and there are no button-holes.' The lawyer goes to another who is wearing ermine and wants her to sign. The woman says, 'No, don't write. These are not ermine but lattizza.' The lawyer says, 'What is lattizza?' And the woman replies, 'It's an animal.' The lord Priors say one to another: 'We have come up against a wall. We had better attend to matters of more importance. Let him who wants the disease have it.'"

Popular opinion desired public pleasures. It was thought that the expenditures of the rich should always be in some way for benefit of the people, so that there might be enjoyment for all. The rich man paid for the feasts of the poor and they enjoyed them together. The young men had their tournaments, and the women danced. Here is an account of a fourteenth century Florentine celebration:

Suonan le trombe e li stormenti tutti;
canti soavi e sollazzi da torno,
Frondi con fiori, tappetine zendali
sparti per terra,

e grandi drappi di seta alle mura,
argento ed oro, e le mense fornite,
letti coperti e le camere allegre.
Cucine pien' de varie imbandigioni;
donzelli accorti a servire, ed ancora
piu damigelle giovani tra loro,
armeggiando pe' chiostri e per le vie.
Fermi balconi e le loggie coperte,
cavalier molti e valorosa gente.
donne e donzelle di grande beltate.

Vengono i vini e confetti abbondanti
la son le frutta in diverse maniere.
Canton gli augelli in gabbia e per li tetti.

Giardini aperti, e spandesi l'odore,

Bei cucciolini spagnuoi con le donne
piu pappagalli per le mense vanno,
falcon, girfalchi, sparvieri ed astori

The trumpets sound and all throng;
Sweet songs and amusements abound,
Branches of flowers, rugs and scarfs
strewn on the ground.

Silks richly draped on the walls,
Silver and gold, and the tables spread
the beds adorned and the alcoves gay;
and the kitchens full of great preparations.
Skillful valets to serve and besides

Many young pages jousting
Through all the cloisters and the streets.
Standing on the balconies and in the covered loggias
Many a knight and brave sire.
Women and maids of great beauty.

Wines appear and confetti in abundance;
with great assortment of divers fruit.
Whilst birds sing in cages and on the roofs.

Gardens thrown open with their sweet scent

Lovely Spanish puppies with the women
and parrots passing from table to table,
falcon, gerfalcon, hawk and goshawk.

And a night's entertainment ceases at dawn.

Suona la sveglia, l'aurora apparisce
bassa il romore e la gente s'addorme.

Reveille sounds and the dawn appears,
The clamor dies and the people sleep.

On the 4th of June 1469 the wedding of Lorenzo de' Medici and Clarice was solemnly celebrated in Florence, beginning with two entire days of bringing of gifts to the Medici palace. From Sunday to Tuesday Lorenzo gave five banquets which filled the loggia and the gardens of the palace on Via Larga. Tables were assigned to the young women who accompanied the bride and for the older women who were with Madonna Lucrezia. At separate tables sat the "young men to dance" and the older men. On Sunday morning the bride, leaving the house of the Alessandri "on the great horse given to Lorenzo by the King of Naples," in the midst of a wonderful procession, entered the house of her husband, while joyous music celebrated the raising of the symbolic olive branch to the window. On the morning of Tuesday "she went to hear mass at San Lorenzo," in her hand "a small book of our Virgin, marvellously beautiful, with golden letters on ultramarine blue paper, covered with crystal and carved silver."

But while these rejoicings and dazzling banquets were going on, no wedding procession, or tournament ever equaled the public solemnity of the betrothal of the Abbess of San Pier Maggiore. This ceremony was repeated every time that Florence had a new bishop, since the betrothed of the abbess was the bishop. The formal entrance of the bishop was through the gate of the Porta Romana, the two *Visdomini* accompanied him to the monastery, where as symbol of the Florentine church the abbess awaited him. At her request the marriage was celebrated in the church, the bishop putting an exceedingly handsome ring upon her finger: "a golden ring with a sapphire" at the ceremonies of the year 1301. In Dante's century, the bishop left the church on the arm of the *Visdomini* and entered the bedroom of the abbess, where he was offered a sumptuously mounted bed and the room, for the entire twenty-four hours. The morning after, the same *Visdomini* came to meet him with the clergy and led him into the Duomo, and there installed him. All Florence attended the "betrothal." The abbess kept the horse on which the bishop arrived. The Florentine church had had its pontifex, and the city one feast more, in which woman took an essential part!

We find ideal types of the Italian woman as housewife and mother in the fifteenth century treatises of Agnolo Pandolfini and Leon Battista Alberti, and in the pleasing pages of Vespasiano and in the "Cares of the Family" of Giovanni Dominici. "To love and fear God

and live rightly," trained to "never let time pass without filling it," to "never talk to the servants in the home unless her mother was present," and "to be the first to get up in the morning," "to learn everything that would permit her to live," and to "learn to do everything and be able to teach every least thing" pertaining to household duties. "Rarely to be seen at the door or window." Francesco de Barberino's *Costume e Reggimento di Donna* is a complete code of these manners for young girls, widows, nuns, maidservants, wet-nurses, prostitutes, and beggars. When the maiden received the wedding ring, she should keep her eyes downcast and "seem afraid." She should wait until the proposal of marriage had been repeated once or twice, and the third time she should "make a soft short reply." The fear and the hesitation might be abbreviated if the prospective bride were no longer young. Marriage was the only life for women in Florence.

Hence those "marriage rules" which the mother was expected to give her daughter. "Dearest daughter: I am giving you a husband, and you must part from me. My beautiful daughter I would not part from you, so sweet is the love that unites us. But reason grants, and our honor desires that you have companionship, so that your father and I may receive happiness from you and your children, which we trust God you will have. Now I must send you from me and you will leave the jurisdiction of your father and enter that of your husband and master, for whom you are to be not only a companion but an obedient servant. And in order that you may know how to serve him obediently, listen to my warnings and receive them in place of commandments; for if you keep them you will be loved by your husband and by everybody else.

"The first commandment is that you shall look to avoid anything that might enrage or cross him. And do not appear happy or laugh when you see he is annoyed; and do not appear annoyed yourself, when he is happy; and when he is disturbed or angry or thoughtful, keep out of his way until he gets over it. The second commandment is that you should learn what foods please him most for dinner and supper, and see that he gets them; and even if you dislike the food that he prefers, you should pretend to like it, for a woman should comply with her husband's pleasure. The third commandment is that when your husband is tired and falls asleep, you should not waken him without just reason, but if it becomes necessary, rouse

him slowly and gently so that he will not get angry with you; for men often get wrathful at such things.

"The fourth commandment is that you watch out carefully for his honor and yours; and do not misuse his safe or purse; and if by chance you have to handle them, do not take anything, but put it all back. Do not give or loan anything of his to anyone without his permission. For he is your master and you may not give of his possessions without his consent. Use the greatest thought in guarding what is his, for a man is praised for his generosity, but a woman for what she saves her husband. The fifth commandment is that you must not be curious to know your husband's secrets. And if he happens to tell them to you, do not tell them to anyone else. Never repeat outside, words said familiarly in your home; for it is not right that others should know the family matters, for then the wife is considered stupid and her husband will hate her.

"The sixth commandment is that you shall love and inspire trust in the family servants, especially those beloved by your husband; and that you should not blame them nor send them away for slight reasons; for you might easily get yourself hated by your husband and others. The seventh commandment is that you never do anything important without your husband's consent, and never say to him 'My advice was better than yours,' even if it was, for thus you will make him hate you. The eighth commandment is that you should not ask anything of your husband which it would be inconvenient or difficult for him to do.

"The ninth commandment is that you should always keep fresh, beautiful, well dressed, and neat. For if you dress too gaudily for his pleasure your husband might suspect you, whereas if you dress decently he will love and cherish you. The tenth commandment is that you should not be too domestic nor too humble with your servants, for familiarity breeds contempt; therefore it is better to be a little haughty towards them, for it is not well that the maid should be too proud towards the mistress, for which reason the people often say, 'The servant rules if the mistress stoops to folly.'

"The eleventh commandment is that you should provide for the care of the family and the housekeeping, and not gad about too much; for the woman who stays constantly at home is her husband's delight, as Solomon said—who knew. And do not talk too much, for to talk little is especially fitting a wife. Even a foolish woman if she talks

little is considered wise. I also command you to be modest and that you do not try to know too much, for it is not fitting for a woman to wish to know how to handle men as men do.

“The twelfth commandment is the greatest and in which I would be most severe. You should do nothing in deed or word or appearance to cause your husband jealousy, for that could take his love from you more easily than anything else, and if once you made him jealous, you would always be suspected by him and would thus be hated by him and by his family and friends, for this fault leaves a stain that can never be washed out. I assure you that a wife can do nothing that will make her so beloved by her husband as by being pure; and the contrary of this rule is also true. Be eager to render your husband every homage and reverence, and always give him a good welcome when he returns home, and be more courteous to his family than to your own. In your love towards him do not lose his affection through showing too much desire. It is better to let him use loving force, since that will prove your honesty. By doing these things you will be a golden crown for your husband.”

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CHAPTER VII

The Roman Catholic Church in the Thirteenth Century

THE twelfth and thirteenth centuries loom large in Italy because of the communes. These centuries are equally important in the history of the Roman Catholic church. At the close of the twelfth century the humblest priest was supposed to be the custodian of divine power. He could administer or withhold the sacraments, and the sacraments were essential to salvation. The priest did the thinking for the world and took charge of the conscience of mankind. The Church also supervised the daily life of the individual, and the spiritual courts possessed almost unlimited jurisdiction. No matter what were the crimes of a man in holy orders, secular justice could not punish him. The priest was not a citizen. The Church was his country, his home. In the Church every talent, every energy, found its opportunity. Men rose from the lowest social ranks even to the chair of St. Peter. The Church Militant was disciplined, its every soldier was armed with lethal weapons. "Princes," says John of Salisbury, "derive their power from the Church and are servants of the priesthood." Innocent III was the vicar of Christ, less than God but greater than man; he judged all and was judged by none.

This supremacy destroyed ecclesiastical humility, charity, and self-abnegation. Clerical preferment was not obtained by the deserving. Pietro Damiani (1007-1072) wrote that the bishop-elect of Fossombrone was unfit, but that in the whole diocese there was not a single priest worthy of the office. Innocent III (Pope from 1198 to 1216) declared that the Church was reeking with simony. The manipulation of ecclesiastical preferment was a system. About the year 1100 the Archbishop of Tours requested that the bishopric of Orleans should be given to a notorious pervert, known as "Flora," to whom love songs were sung in the streets. Wealthy abbeys and powerful bishoprics were bestowed on warriors, and the plundered peasant regarded the baron and the bishop equally as enemies, and believed that neither could enter Heaven.

To the crimes of clerics the Church afforded virtual immunity. In 1198 Gerard de Rougemont, Archbishop of Besançon, was summoned to Rome charged with perjury, simony, and incest; but his accusers dared not prosecute and he continued to live in incest with his relative, the Abbess of Remiremont, and with other concubines, one of whom was a nun and another the daughter of a priest. Maheu de Lorraine, bishop of Toul, was wholly abandoned to lechery; his favorite concubine was his own daughter by a nun of Epinal.

Ecclesiastical debauchery was prevalent in Italy, and frequently the Pope was the worst offender. Europe was traversed by a multitude of men armed with letters from the papal chancery, empowering the bearer to exercise judicial functions and to excommunicate. Many bishops exacted a *cullagium*, on payment of which the priest could keep his concubine. Benefices were sold. Churches were given to boys under ten years of age. Pluralities were common. A purchased benefice was a business investment. The non-payment of the tithe was heresy. Confession was obligatory, and a chicken or a pint of wine would often pay for absolution. The fees for marriage and funeral ceremonies must be paid in advance, and the Eucharist was withheld until an oblation was given. The final sacraments necessary for salvation were sometimes refused until a cash payment had been made, and Alexander III (*ca.* 1170) decreed that no one could make a valid will except in the presence of his parish priest. The rivalry between the mendicant orders and the secular clergy for the possession of corpses and the accompanying fees became intense.

Priestly celibacy did not result in chastity. The functions of priest and confessor offered ideal opportunity for a succession of paramours. Provided the priest did not marry, everything was forgiven. A sacerdotal body with class privileges of immorality and free from the terrors of the civil law attracted many malefactors. Abbeys were cesspools of corruption, and monasteries became feudal castles which criminals frequently entered to escape punishment.

Crowds of bearded and tonsured vagrants wearing religious habit traversed Christendom, begging, cheating, peddling false relics, and performing false miracles. *Quaestuarii*, or "pardoners," issued pardons for cash. The Eucharist, relics, holy water, exorcism, prayer, became fetiches.

All popes were not like Innocent IV (Pope, 1243-1254) and John XXII (Pope, 1316-1334), all bishops were not licentious, not all

priests impoverished men and dishonored women. There were many pious and chaste prelates and pastors. Yet it is St. Bernard (1090–1153) who wrote, "Whom can you show me among the prelates who does not seek rather to empty the pockets of his flock than to subdue their vices?" Potho of Pruhm in 1152 said, "The Church is rushing to ruin, and not a hand is raised to stay its downward progress; there is not a single priest fitted to rise up as a mediator between God and man, and approach the divine throne with an appeal for mercy."

The Great Council of Lateran in 1215 sought to correct the vices of the clergy. In 1219 Honorius III in an encyclical declares that priests glory in their sins as in Sodom. They are a snare and a destruction of the people. In 1250, Robert Grosseteste, bishop of Lincoln, in the presence of Innocent IV and his cardinals asserts that the clergy polluted the earth, were Antichrists and devils masquerading as angels of light, who made the house of prayer a den of robbers. All this is ecclesiastical testimony.

Love for the brethren is the cornerstone of the Christian church. Yet the New Testament resounds with the quarrels between Christians. Paul and Peter fought. Jewish and Gentile Christians contended. Augustine approved of the laws banishing the Donatists. The Council of Nicaea defined orthodoxy, and Constantine enforced uniformity. In the eleventh century the Cathari disturbed orthodoxy. In 1139 the second Lateran Council ordered all princes to punish heretics. The decree of Lucius III at the Council of Verona in 1184 commanded that all judges and governors should swear before their bishops to enforce fully the ecclesiastical and secular laws against heresy. In 1163 Pope Alexander III commanded all secular princes to imprison heretics and confiscate their property. In 1199 Innocent III threatened the Albigenses with exile and confiscation of their property. In his constitution of 1210 Otto IV placed heretics under the imperial ban. In 1231 Frederic ordered that all heretics in his Neapolitan dominion should be burned. In Venice after 1249, the ducal oath of office contained a pledge to burn all heretics. In handing the Emperor the ring, the Pope told him that it was symbol that he was to destroy heresy; and in girding him with the sword, that with it he was to strike down the enemies of the Church.

These principles were part of the public law of Europe. The age was cruel. The wheel, the caldron of boiling oil, burning, burying and flaying alive, tearing apart with wild horses, were ordinary forms

of punishment. Frederic II encased rebels in lead and roasted them. And heresy was the worst of crimes. Said Bishop Lucas of Tuy, "Its vileness renders pure even Sodom and Gomorrah." On April 20, 1233, Gregory IX issued two bulls investing all Dominican preachers with authority to condemn heretics. May 15, 1252, Innocent IV issued his bull, directing each chief magistrate to appoint inquisitors to arrest heretics, seize their goods, deliver them to the bishop or his vicars, and execute all judgments pronounced against them. In 1259 Pope Alexander IV reissued the bull, and in 1265 Clement IV repeated Innocent's order. In 1265 Urban IV made the order universal. In all lands the inquisitor was to be obeyed as the Pope himself.

The arrest of a suspected heretic was secret. The trial was secret. Presumption of guilt was assumed. Absence was considered confession. The prosecutor was the judge, eager for fines and confiscations; all appeals were rejected and no one was ever acquitted. When a prisoner proved obdurate, the *durus carcer et arcta vita* (chains and starvation in a stifling hole) was a favorite device for extracting confession. The prisoner was tortured until he confessed. But the record always shows that the admission of guilt was "free and spontaneous without the pressure of force or fear." Perpetual imprisonment was the customary penance. In the *murus largus* the prisoner was thrust into the most filthy of cells and frequently chained to the wall. Heretical members of religious orders were imprisoned in a convent, and in Italy the property of the suspect was seized and his family evicted. The most effective weapons of the Holy Office were its dungeons and its confiscations, the saffron crosses sewed on to the dress, and the invisible police. The heretic condemned to be burned was tied to a high post set over the blazing fire so that the crowd could watch the victim's agony.

Piero da Verona (San Piero Martire) was born at Verona in 1203 or 1206, and on Sunday, April 7, 1244, he was assassinated near Florence. Giacompo di Voragine compares his martyrdom to that of Christ; and Sixtus V in 1586 made him a saint. Venice and the Two Sicilies were partly free from the Inquisition. When Sicily passed into the hands of Peter III in 1282, persecution ceased. In Venice, the Doge, Giovanni Dandolo, was directed to assist the inquisitor (1289), but it was decreed that all fines and confiscations should inure to the State.

The suppression of heresy in Italy was difficult. In Milan there

were seventeen heterodox sects, and the Cathari constituted a large part of the population. In some districts the Waldenses must have been almost as numerous as the Cathari. In the Luserna, Angrogna, San Martino, and Perosa valleys of the Cottian Alps they occupied every livable spot and were not molested.

In 1204 at Piacenza the heretics compelled the expulsion of Bishop Grimerio and all the Roman clergy. For three and a half years Piacenza remained without an orthodox priest. In Brescia churches were burned, and the heretics excommunicated were all Roman Catholics. In Rome in 1231 many priests were heretics. Probably the first recorded *auto da fe* was that at the gate of Santa Maria Maggiore.

In Piedmont the Cathari included members of many noble families.

In 1332 a brief of John XXII describes the Waldensian church of the diocese of Turin as being in a most flourishing condition. The Waldenses of the Val di Susa were pitilessly persecuted. Driven from their native valleys, they poured over into Piedmont, and many emigrated to Calabria and Apulia.

In 1387 the chief Waldensian pontiff resided in Apulia, and a century later the original communities in the Cottian Alps still looked to Southern Italy as the center of their church.

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CHAPTER VIII

Franciscans and Dominicans

NO MAN has more fully incarnated the Christian ideal than St. Francis of Assisi. Giovanni Bernardone (St. Francis) was born about the year 1182, and spent his youth in light-hearted revelry. On recovery from a serious illness he dedicated his life to serving the poor and the sick and to preaching love for God and for all his creatures. He was absorbed in Christ, who now directed his life. As others joined him, he sent them out to evangelize the world. On their reuniting, Francis drew up a Rule for their governance, and the twelve proceeded to Rome to procure the papal confirmation. In 1210 Pope Innocent III gave formal approval of the rule granting the Franciscans provisory license, and authorizing the brethren to preach the word of God. When Francis called his first general chapter in 1221, it was attended by over three thousand brethren, including a cardinal and several bishops. After Innocent's death, Francis drew up a second Rule, more concise and less rigid, which Pope Honorius approved (1223) and which has been maintained, unaltered. This "Rule" provided that the brethren should possess nothing, should live in the world as strangers and pilgrims, and should go confidently after alms, without any feeling of shame since the Lord for our sake made Himself poor in the world.

Francis adjured obedience and humility, but above all he loved his "lady poverty." Aside from prayer and the divine service, the blessed Francis was most zealous in preserving continually an inward and outward spiritual gladness.

"All living things spoke to him of God, above all birds he loved the lark and would say of her, 'Sister lark has a hood like a religious and is a humble bird, because she goes willingly along the road to find for herself some grains of corn.'

"As the blessed Father Francis was journeying through the Spoleto Valley he reached a place near Mevanium, where there was a multitude of birds. As he came near and saw that they were waiting for him, he saluted them and humbly begged them to listen to the word

of God. Among other things he said to them, 'My brothers who fly, verily you should praise the Lord your Maker and love Him always, who gave you feathers to clothe you and wings to fly with, and though you neither sow nor reap, nevertheless, without any solicitude on your part, He protects and guides you.' At length he blessed them, and with the sign of the cross gave them leave to fly away. And from that day he ceased not to exhort all flying and creeping things and even things insensible, to the praise and love of their Maker."

The founder of the great order of Preaching Friars was Domingo de Guzmán who was born at Calaroga in Old Castile in 1170. He began his career by preaching for ten years among the Albigenses in southern France. He traveled about the country in extreme poverty and lived an austere and simple life. The Dominican Order developed out of the bands of men who joined Dominic in this mission. In December 1216 the Order and its statutes received papal confirmation. In 1243 the learned Hugh of Vienna became a Dominican cardinal, and in 1276 a Dominican brother became Pope Innocent V, and later was enshrined as a saint.

As the Dominican Order grew, its organization was divided into provinces, each head being a provincial prior. Over all was the general master. Each brother was a "Friar Preacher," a soldier awaiting marching orders. Whenever in the thirteenth century we find a man towering above his fellows, usually he belongs to one of the mendicant orders.

In 1227 Gregory IX permitted Franciscans and Benedictines to preach, hear confessions, and grant absolution; as a result the wandering friars invaded every parish and performed all priestly functions. A friar's portable altar set up "for a day," became a fixture. His chapel and cloister soon towered above the parish church. In time both Dominicans and Franciscans departed from the virtues of their founders. It was inevitable that trouble should come between the strict adherents of the Rule, and the ambitious worldlings of the Order. St. Francis' successor Elias led the Order on its downward path. As the Order spread, wealth poured in. In every city the humble hovels enjoined by Francis became stately palaces. In 1257 St. Bonaventura, general of the Order, in an encyclical vainly bewailed "the universal contempt and dislike for the Order, which was caused by the idleness, the vices, and the importunate beggary which renders the friar more terrible than a robber."

One of the most remarkable spiritual developments of the thirteenth century begins with the rich noble, irreligious, and frivolous courtier, Joachim of Floris, the founder of modern mysticism. Upon his conversion he entered the Cistercian Order, then retired to a hermitage of Pietralata, drew disciples around him, and established a new Order, of which the Rule of poverty was approved by Pope Celestin III. Joachim's three most important writings were composed (1196) at the request of Popes Lucius III, Urban III, and Clement III, and the Franciscan Spirituals absorbed his ideas. In 1254 Paris was startled by a book entitled "The Everlasting Gospel," which consisted of Joachim's three undoubted works, with explanatory glosses. Nothing more subversive of the Roman church can be conceived. The Old Testament is the first Heaven; the New Testament, the Second Heaven; "The Everlasting Gospel," the third Heaven. The first is the porch, the second the holy place, and the third the Holy of Holies. The preaching and dissemination of this supreme law of God were committed to the Franciscans. John of Parma, general of the Order, must have sympathized with it, at least he never punished Gherardo, its probable author. John of Parma was tried, and retired to a little convent near Rieti. There he is said to have lived for thirty-two years the life of an angel, without abandoning his Joachimite beliefs. From Languedoc to Venice and Florence, the Monastic Spirituals were exposed to infinite tortures. Arnaldo persuaded Pope Clement to silence the accusations which the conventuals brought against them. In full consistory Clement announced, "We declare as Pope, that from what has been stated on both sides before us, no one ought to call you heretics and defenders of heresy."

Spiritual exaltation was not confined to the Franciscans. About 1260 a woman calling herself Guglielma came to Milan. She had wealth, was the reputed daughter of Queen Constance, wife of the King of Bohemia, and devoted herself to good works. Guglielma gradually attracted a little band of disciples who regarded her as a saint, and when she died (August 24, 1281) her property was left to the great Cistercian house of Chiaravalle, near Milan, where she desired to be buried. The translation of the body was conducted with great splendor. Presently a chapel with an altar arose over her tomb. The initiated believed that she was the incarnation of the Holy Ghost.

The paternity of Dolcino (d. 1307) is variously attributed to

Giulio, a priest of Trontano in the Val d'Ossola, and to Giulio, a hermit of Prato in the Val Sesia, near Novara. Such was Dolcino's eloquence that no listener could ever throw off the spell. In December 1303 Dolcino announced as a revelation from God that the first year of the tribulations of the Church had begun in the fall of Boniface. The Inquisition was soon upon his track. Under the guidance of Milano Sola the "apostles" moved up towards the headwaters of the Sesia, and established themselves on a bare mountaintop, where some fourteen hundred of both sexes built huts and passed the terrible winter of 1305-1306. As Lent came on they were eating mice and hay cooked in grease. On the night of March 10th, they established themselves on Monte Rubello, overlooking the village of Triverio in the diocese of Vercelli. Dolcino fortified and garrisoned six of the neighboring heights, from which he harried the surrounding country for food. In male attire the women fought beside their men. During the winter of 1306-1307 Dolcino's starving followers devoured their fallen enemies, and even those comrades who died of starvation. Dolcino, Margherita, and Longino Cattane, his chief subordinates, were captured. Margherita was offered marriage and pardon if she would abjure, but on June 1, 1307, she was slowly burned to death before Dolcino's eyes, and then commenced his more prolonged torture. Thus Dolcino and such of his followers as were captured were exterminated, but thousands of scattered "apostles" still secretly cherished their belief. There was no organization. The apostles wore a white mantle and cord. As they wandered along roads and streets they sang hymns, uttered prayers, and exhorted sinners to repentance. Whatever was spontaneously set before them they ate with thankfulness, and when appetite was satisfied they left what remained.

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CHAPTER IX

Italian Universities and Scholasticism

THE first centers of modern culture were the Italian universities. Sometimes these institutions developed in opposition to the Church, sometimes in opposition to the Empire. Enamored with democracy, untrammelled by exterior formula and limitation, they contended for freedom of thought and liberty of instruction. Much of the literature of the Middle Ages is concerned with these universities. Often the life and love adventures of their scholars are mentioned in the tales of novelists, and many plays were written by university students or to describe university life.

All through the Middle Ages there were Italian lay teachers of letters and of grammar, and the study of Roman law was never entirely interrupted. One hundred and fifty years before the school of Bologna was founded, a Lombard king established the first juridic school of the Middle Ages in the city of Pavia. And it was the Frankish King Lothar who ordered Dungallo the Scotsman to establish lay schools in Italian cities.

Already famous in 984 the Salernian school occupies a notable place in the history of scholarship and of medicine. Here students from every part of Europe flocked for the study and practice of medicine. Free from ecclesiastical dominion, in its earliest period this school also was free from government supervision. Here academic degrees first were conferred. So great was its fame that the city of Salerno was called *Civitas Hippocratica*.

There is mention of a Pisan school of law before 1000, but the Ravenna school overshadows all others of that date. Under the Greeks, Ravenna was the seat of the Exarchate and of Greek-Italian culture. Schools of law flourished in Modena and Reggio d'Emilia. But it was in Bologna that Irnerio's original methods of teaching made the study of law an independent science. Thousands of scholars from every part of Europe frequented the University of Bologna. In 1222 the Studium of Padua arose. In 1224 Frederic II founded the University of Naples. In this thirteenth century, theology was taught

in many monasteries; and among the Italian professors of theology who taught at the University of Paris were Thomas Aquinas and Giovanni Fidanza (Bonaventura) of Bagnorca in Tuscany.

These first Italian scholastic associations were called *Schola*, and represent a free association between masters and students, and were not subject to political or ecclesiastical control. The methods of teaching and the compensation paid were matters of informal agreement. These schools expanded or were discontinued, according to the fame of their teachers. The school at Bologna ceased to be a free association between masters and students when the German Emperor Frederic I decided that the approval and support of this institution would consolidate the monarchical principle and legitimize his claims of universal dominion. By an imperial decree he made it an independent corporation with special jurisdiction, and gave it the name of "university." The city of Bologna welcomed the privileges conveyed to the university by the Emperor's decree, and discouraged the rise of other Italian universities. When the University of Liberal Arts (*Universitas Artium*) was created at Bologna, and bloody conflicts arose between the *giuristi* and the *artisti*, many of the professors and students emigrated to Padua, Siena; and finally almost every city became a center of study.

This free scholastic life inspired by enthusiasm and passions, often turbulent and quarrelsome, represents the most picturesque side of mediaeval Italian society. Tens of thousands of students of every age, social grade, nationality, language, and customs hastened to the Italian universities. These scholars with their families formed *nazioni*. Students from beyond the Alps were called *ultramontani*, those from Italy *citramontani*.

In the scholastic life of the Middle Ages the professors and university officials contributed to the expenses of the frequent festivals. The election of a new rector, the conferring of degrees on the richer scholars, were celebrated with jousts, tournaments, banquets, and balls, and the arrival of some famous professor usually set the whole city in movement. Boccaccio and other novelists mention the scholars in their tales. Rapes of maidens and other amorous student adventures were severely punished. Each scholar or professor was obliged by statute to wear a prescribed costume.

The Italian scholar of the Middle Ages chose his own teacher, and the students with their professors represented a great family. The

scholars cooperated in the election of the professors, contributed to their fame, and called them *Domini*. The *dominus meus* was the favorite preceptor of the scholar, who lovingly perpetuated his name.

The scholars collected the oral lessons of their professors and spread them among other schools. Many of these lessons are still preserved, and reveal that learning was imparted to the hearers with a free and familiar exchange of ideas. When Filelfo passed in 1429 from Bologna to Florence, he wrote: "All the city has its eyes upon me, all love me, all honour and praise me in the highest degree. My name is on the lips of all. Not only the most notable citizens, but even the very matrons when they meet me in the city give place to me, and respect me in such wise that it makes me blush. My scholars number about four hundred every day, and perhaps more, and these are for the most part of high standing and senatorial."

The excessive number of Italian universities during the Middle Ages was unfortunate. There were not enough teachers and scholars to go round. Another cause of their decline was the discord between the teachers and the tumults among the scholars. Wherever the prince had his capitol, academies, libraries, and other centers of scholastic activity were founded. These academies lessened the importance of the universities. Learning like nobility became a class privilege. The invention of printing also lessened the importance of the universities, as did the Inquisition and the predominance of ecclesiastics as teachers in the schools.

Scholasticism dominated thought throughout the Middle Ages in Italy. Indeed it was the core of all mediaeval thinking. In a sense scholasticism extends from Johannes Scotus Erigena (833—*ca.* 880) to William of Occam (*d. ca.* 1349). But since Erigena's philosophy connects him more closely to the Neo-Platonists and Christian mystics, scholasticism really begins with the *credo ut intelligam* of St. Anselm. A second period in its development comes when Alexander of Hales and Albertus Magnus make their great synthesis of scholastic ideas. The Roman church absorbed scholasticism, yet reconciled it with Aristotle. At first philosophy was subordinated to theology; then with Boethius philosophy and theology ran parallel; then, when "universals" had become merely mental conceptions, came nominalism; and finally, when these had achieved an independent existence, came realism. Realism of the Platonic type presents the formula *universalia*

ante rem (the formula Aristotelian). The formula of realism is *universalia in re*.

John Scot Erigena's *De Divisione naturae* proclaimed that since Divinity must contain every thing, and since Evil cannot be contained in Divinity, it is evident that Evil is non-existent. This form of mystic Neo-Platonism caused Erigena to be treated as a heretic.

Anselm, Lanfranc's disciple and successor to the see of Canterbury, was born in Aosta 1033 and died in Canterbury 1109. Anselm's philosophic demonstration of the truth of "Without faith I cannot obtain knowledge" is Catholic dogma, and is strictly constrained within orthodox boundaries.

Hellenic thought ignored dogma. The Church bowed to dogma. Human reason realized the contradiction and fought over a formula. Many particulars imply one universal; every man believes in a Supreme Being, and man's imperfect reason can prove the existence of God. The infinite contains the finite, the universal contains the particular; God is all that is, has been, ever will be, "*ens generalissimum ens realissimum*." Realism asserted, nominalism denied. The original formula of nominalism had been *universalia post rem*—God is one God, even though known by three names, or else there must be three deities. The Church strove to stop such discussions. A compromise was agreed upon known as "conceptualism." Conceptualism is expressed by the phrase "*Universalia post rem*." The next scholastic addition is the *Sic et Non* by Peter Abelard.

The twelfth century is the century of Abelard (1079–1142), of Hugo of St. Victor (1097–1141), and St. Bernard (1091–1153), and of Peter Lombard (d. 1160). Abelard penetrates deeper into systematic thought than any other mediæval mind. St. Bernard's comprehension of the Faith, Hugo of St. Victor's sacramental explanation of the universe, and Peter Lombard's systematic advance from the "Commentary"—all concern this century.

The Arabian influence on the problem of individuality is important. The Arabians offered a Platonized Aristotle. The opposed ideas of immanence and transcendence were developed by the Arabian Averroes (1126–1198). The value of personality was at stake. Averroes assumed we are no more immortal than the other living creatures. The individual cannot rise to reason, but reason descends to him. The streaming of this heavenly intelligence into the human brain brings philosophy. No single religion possesses all truth; though each

religion possesses some truth. There is a false truth, *secundum fidem*, and there is a real truth, *secundum rationem*. Against this formula of "twofold truth" scholastics fought for personality and honesty. There is need of a divine miracle for the creation of an imperishable soul. Abelard's philosophical position in which rationalism played an important part is usually called "conceptualism." "A doctrine," he wrote, "is believed because we are convinced by reason that it is so." "Doubt is the road to inquiry, and by inquiry we perceive the truth."

Returning for a moment to the influence of Arabian philosophy upon Italian thought, we may say that Arabian philosophy was Greek thought, expressed in a Semitic tongue, and modified by Oriental influences. Nestorian scholars introduced Greek philosophy to the Moslem world. Aristotle was translated into Syriac, and from the Syriac was translated into Arabic. For three centuries Arabian philosophers taught "peripateticism," as it had been delivered to them. Shahrastani places Avicenna at the head of all Moslem philosophers. His system is a modified Aristotelianism, and compromises with theology. Avicenna uses Plato's arguments in his support of the immortality of individual souls.

Averroes' reverence for Aristotle was unbounded, and to expound him was his chosen task. All of Aristotle's works were translated from Arabic into Latin between 1210 and 1225. Afterwards translations were made directly from the Greek. Aristotle became recognized as master of those that know, and the Mendicant orders reconquered him for the Church. In this intellectual movement the Franciscans possessed Alexander of Hales and Bonaventura, but the Dominicans boasted of Albertus Magnus and Thomas Aquinas (1227-1274) who, as Ueberweg said, was "the first scholastic to reproduce the whole philosophy of Aristotle in systematic order and remodel it to meet the requirements of ecclesiastical dogma."

The mysteries of the Trinity and the Incarnation are henceforth to be definitely detached from the sphere of rational theology. Albertus and Aquinas maintained that the existence of God is demonstrable by reason. Although God is not fully comprehensible to our finite minds, yet when our intellects are touched by a ray of His light we are brought into communion with Him. The question of "universals" no longer forms the center of speculation. The soul is created by God, when the mortal body of which it is the "entelechy" is prepared for it,

but being immaterial the soul is immortal. The Dominican and Augustinian orders accepted the teachings of Thomas Aquinas, but the Franciscans attacked his doctrines as well as those of Albertus Magnus.

In the *Reprehensorium seu correctorium fratris Thomae*, published in 1285 by William Lararre, the Averroistic consequences of the Thomist doctrine of individuation are affirmed. The Thomist doctrine is a moderate determinism.

To this Scotus opposed an extreme indeterminism. The Thomist said, "God commands what is good because it is good." Scotus declared, "The good is good because God willed it; had He commanded the opposite, that would have been right, by the mere fact of His commanding it." Aquinas was the rationalist, Scotus was the sceptic.

In the end of the thirteenth century and the beginning of the fourteenth, the Thomists and Scotists divided the philosophical and theological world between them. The greatest disciple of Aquinas was Dante Alighieri, in whose *Divina Commedia* the theology and philosophy of the Middle Ages have received immortality. The fourteenth century revival of nominalism was associated with the "invincible doctor," William of Occam. In 1339 Occam's treatises were banned by the University of Paris, and in 1340 nominalism was solemnly condemned. Nevertheless, the new doctrine spread. The Dominicans Pierre d'Ailly and John Gerson (Jean Charlier de Gerson, 1363-1429), both chancellors of the University of Paris, and the former a cardinal of the Church, are the chief figures among the later nominalists. Gabriel Biel, the summarizer of Occam's doctrine, was called the "last of the scholastics." The title might be more fitly borne by Francisco Suarez, who died in 1617. After the beginning of the fifteenth century, scholasticism died of inanition. Fifteenth century humanism gave birth to a new philosophy.

CHAPTER X

Literature of the Early Fourteenth Century

THE fourteenth century opened with the Jubilee of Boniface VIII (Pope, 1294-1303). Hermits from the desert, monks from the cell, pilgrims, preachers, and confessors, priors and abbots, poets and philosophers, doctors of the law and doctors of theology, nobles and feudal tyrants, thronged to Rome. This Jubilee of 1300 should prove a résumé of Italian *trecento* literature. Many of the prose writers were friars—ingenuous, impressionable, simple people. They confused Christ and the knights of Charlemagne. Written in the vulgar tongue, their cloister literature reached from St. Francis of Assisi and Jacopone da Todi to St. Catherine of Siena. The writers produced religious canticles, lauds, plays, visions, tales of sacred history and legends of hermit-saints, all of which exerted a profound influence on the fourteenth and succeeding centuries. It represented the golden age of the Italian language, for its spiritual fervor was often expressed in perfection of style.

The *Medioevo* is a tragic antithesis of shadows and splendors. The answer to some of its questionings is found in this mystical literature. Whence does man come? Where does he go? What does he mean? We breathe, we move, we live in a perennial miracle, and man himself is the most stupendous of all miracles. His emotional experiences crowd the literature of this century. Religious mysticism is a species of self-hypnosis, in which the return to God becomes the consummation. By abstraction from earthly things it is possible to obtain "ecstatic vision," such as was granted to St. Paul. "To lose thyself in some sort, as if thou wert not. So to be affected is to become God. For how shall God be all, if anything of man remains in man?" * Thus God becomes an experience and man, as Erigena said, is merged in "a simple stillness, in the infinite essence of God." A God who exists as a vast unfathomable ocean, surrounded by darkness and silence.

St. Bernard's mysticism considered how man may attain to the full

* *De diligendo Deo*, c. 10.

knowledge and enjoyment of God. This mysticism was systematically developed by Bernard's contemporary, Hugh of St. Victor (1096-1141). The writings that issued from the Augustinian monastery of St. Victor near Paris during the twelfth century formed the textbooks of mystic minds in the centuries that followed. Bonaventura (1221-1274) was a diligent student of the "Victorines," and in his *Itinerarium mentis ad Deum* maps out the human faculties in similar fashion. Physical dissolution fascinated Jacopone da Todi. In the *Pianti della Madonna* (Lamentations of the Madonna) and the *Sacre Rappresentazioni* of the Passion, every drop of blood is counted. The blows of the hammer upon the nails which transfix the Divine hands, the blows of the reed upon the crown of thorns which pierced the Saviour's brow, are enumerated. In the "Triumph of Death" in the *campo santo* of Pisa, in the *Inferno* in Sta. Maria Novella at Florence, in the *Mater doloroso* of the Umbrian and Siennese schools, every detail is observed and described.

The letters of Catherine of Siena are conspicuous in this mystical literature of the fourteenth century. St. Catherine was a soul enamored of solitude and sorrow. "Love and Death" was her mystical coat of arms, she was absorbed in meditation upon the Passion of her invisible celestial Spouse. She passed without effort from an ecstatic annihilation of sense to the practical; visiting hospitals, reforming convents, comforting those in prison and assisting those condemned to death. She threatened cardinals, reproved popes, made long and dangerous journeys; and finally persuaded the Pope to leave Avignon and return to Rome. She thus described how she comforted a man condemned to death: "I went to visit him whom you know of, and he made me promise that when the time of the execution should come I would be with him. In the morning I led him to hear mass. He said to me, 'For the love of God, stay with me and I shall die content.' And he laid his head upon my breast. And I felt a rejoicing and breathed an odour of his blood. . . . 'Be comforted, my sweet brother,' I said to him, 'I will await thee at the place of justice.' He arrived like a gentle lamb, laid himself down, and I stretched his neck upon the block. His lips uttered naught save 'Jesus! Catherine!' . . . I received the severed head in my hands, closing the eyes in the Divine Goodness." And thus, all *inzuppata* (soaked) in that blood, the heroic virgin returned radiant to her poorhouse by Fontebranda, in that Siena of the *trecento*, which resounded with the clang of

arms between *Signori* and *Popolo*, and with confiscations, fires, sackings and rebellions.

Believing that their supreme good was to die to the world, these mystics submerged themselves in ecstasy. Women predominate in these transports of love, finding in mystic vision the delights denied them in normal life. *Amor repit, unit, satisfacit*; each of these virgin visionaries had said as much. Their revelations exhale a palpitating, ravishing, annihilating love—a dream-love; they partake of phantasmal banquets which satisfy but never satiate. The yearning worked the miracle. It gave ecstasy to women, denied the enchantment of possession. St. Theresa's raptures are a heaping up of sensuous experiences. The Roman church burned some of these mystics and canonized others, and the *Index Expurgatorius* condemned some of their writings.

In contrast with this mystical literature a real world produced a totally different literature. Yet even in the love-poems of Guinicelli, Cavalcanti, and Dante, mystical desire and carnal craving use the same language. The love of woman became to them a religion. "Let him who wants to have news of God, love," said Ugo da San Vittare. All these poets practiced the cult of woman-worship, and compared their ladies to stairways to heaven, to morning stars, to symbols, to sacraments. Dante's *Vita Nuova* and his *Divina Commedia* are filled with abstractions, scholastic phantoms, and that mystic rose bedewed with tears.

Of quite different character is the work of Albertino Mussato of Padua (1261–1339). He wrote epistles, elegies, and the declamatory tragedies *Achilleis* and *Eccerinus*. The latter is an historical drama about the tyrant Ezzelino III, who was destroyed in 1260. It was written in Latin and has been compared to the work of the great writers of Greek tragedy.

In his *Historia Augusta*, Mussato describes Emperor Henry's expedition, and in another work relates the events in Italy from the Emperor's death up to 1329. He was an eyewitness of many incidents and he is worthy of credence.

Venice had her Andrea Dandolo and Martino Sanuto, who wrote history in Latin. Theology, philosophy, jurisprudence, medicine, and history were also written in Latin. Marsilius of Padua, Cino de Pistoia, Bartolo, and Baldo, all wrote in Latin. In Tuscany, Malespini composed his chronicles in Italian, and the immortal portraits

in Dino Compagni's "Story of Florence" (1270 until 1313) are also written in Italian. Patriotic Dino ruled the Florentine republic, but quarreled with Pope Boniface VIII, with Charles of Valois, and with Corso Donati. Dino's chronicle records the fall of the Whites and the reign of the Blacks, and he curses both. He writes with a dagger. He pictures his period. He describes how Charles came to Florence with twelve hundred horsemen, besides soldiers from Lucca, Perugia, and Cante d'Agobbio—all enemies of the *Cerchi*, though each pretended to be a friend.

On November 11, 1301, the *Signoria* allowed Charles to protect the city and guard the gates, and the following night many banished men entered through the posterns under the walls. Charles allowed Corso Donati and his friends among the Blacks (*Neri*) to crush the Whites (*Bianchi*) and to sack Florence for six bloody days. In Dino's chronicle all is action: a word, a line, paint a character. Of Corso Donati he wrote: "A knight of the quality of the Roman Catiline, but more cruel; gentle in blood, beautiful of body, pleasing in speech, adorned with fine manners, subtle of intellect, his mind always occupied with wrong doing; and surrounded by as many ruffians as he had followers. He ordered burnings and robberies, gained wealth and rose to a great height. Vainglory was his pride and did him much service."

Most of the *novelle* written in Italian vernacular before Boccaccio's Decameron were translations, or compilations, chiefly the work of Tuscans. The *novellino* is derived from Latin, French, and Provençal sources and from oral tradition; many of the tales, incidents, and anecdotes refer to Florentines and other Italians, while others are of Oriental and of Hebrew origin. Many of the *novelle* are taken from the Bible, from the Breton cycle, from the *Speculum historiale* of Vincent of Beauvais, through the *Fiore dei filosofi*; from the *Liber de infirmitatibus equorum*, St. Gregory's *Dialoghi*, the lives of the Holy Fathers, the *Historia Karoli Magni* of the Pseudo-Turpino, the French fabliau *De l'evesque qui benii*, and from Jacopo da Varazzi's *Legenda aurea*. There is energy, rapidity, and elegance in the composition, though the characters often are mere names; but occasionally there is a real development of some great personage. Frederic II, King Conrad of Suabia, "Charles, king of Cicilia and Jerusalem, when he was Comte d'Anjou," and Saladin are praised. Here are Launcelot, mad for love of Queen Guinevere, Tristram and Iseult

the Fair, the Damsel of Shalott languishing for Launcelot, and other personages from the Breton cycle. Provençal literature supplied the characters of cunning Guglielmo di Bergdam, Alexander and Hector, disguised as knights of chivalry, and Socrates, "a noble philosopher of Rome." Many of the female characters are vulgar, frivolous, and sensual. These collections of tales are the first important original prose works written in the Italian vernacular.

The *Conti di antichi cavalieri* is a collection, made in Tuscany about the close of the thirteenth century. The characters are Saladin, the Young King of England, Hector, Agamemnon, Brutus, Fabricius, and Regulus, all in mediaeval transformation. There is the *Conto de Brunnoro e de Galetto*, and the *Re Tebaldo*, which summarizes the French romance *Le Roman de Foulque de Candie* by Herbet Leduc. Some tales are taken from the *Liber Ystoriarum Romanorum*, the Latin original being closely followed; others are translations from a French text, of which a copy is now in the National Library of Paris.

The *Fiore di filosofi e di molti savi* is translated and abridged from the *Speculum historiale* of Vincent de Beauvais. It contains the lives and sayings of ancient philosophers and great men, as well as several curious anecdotes and legends. The *Fiore di virtu*, written in semi-dialect, perhaps by the Benedictine friar Tommaso Gonzzadini of Bologna, was enormously popular and was early transcribed into Tuscan. It had many imitations and was translated into Armenian, Arabic, Greek, German, French, Spanish, and Roumanian. Each chapter considers some virtue and its opposite vice, and supports its arguments by curious zoological legends and narratives taken from the *Vite dei SS. Padri* and from mediaeval writings.

Italian letters in the fourteenth century were encyclopedic and preserved ancient art and science. In Florence, *trecento* prose became noble, strong, and elegant, and Florentine *trecento* poetry is filled with motion and color. These prose translations of lives of Saints, Byzantine and Oriental legends, Provençal and Arabic treatises, poems of King Arthur, Tristram and Iseult the Fair, Alexander, and Caesar derive from all countries. In Italian vernacular poetry there are *canzone sirvente*, *ballata*, and elegies filled with satire. Italians believed the *Reali di Francia* was their own. Eastern Christian legends became a part of Tuscan speech. Italian poetry is Tuscan poetry. Indeed, *trecento* Italian literature is chiefly Tuscan. Its best preachers, chroniclers, and novelists are Florentine.

Dante, Petrarch, and Boccaccio are the major constellations. Dante creates the epic, Petrarch the lyric, Boccaccio the novel. Dante and Cavalcanti represent the spiritual world. Pucci and Sacchetti, the material. The age of the *stil nuovo* is the age of the *disciplinati*. The people still go out into the streets to pray, to weep, and to flagellate themselves. Real life and spiritual life conflict, and religion still torments and thrills. Florentine schools of grammar and logic were frequented by six hundred students, and science and art and literature were the glory of the Florentine commune. The impetus of heart and mind within such narrow limits of space and time is unparalleled except in Athens after Marathon. The Florentine rhymes of Matteo Frescobaldi and Sennuccio del Bene and those of Venetian Giovanni Quirini and Niccolo de' Rossi are in *stil nuovo*. Dante's friend Cino de Sigisbuldi of Pistoia (1240) was a prolific rhymester in *stil nuovo*. Many women inspired Cino's rhymes, especially Selvaggia. Her gracious greeting fills the poet with joy and grief.

Francesco of Barberino in Val d'Elsa (1264-1318), in his poem *Documenti d'Amore*, gives instruction on morals, faith, and wisdom. His *Del reggimento e costume de donna* is a kind of feminine code of politeness. In the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries physical and natural sciences were favorite literary subjects. Francesco Stabili (Cecco of Ascoli), astrologer and physician to Carlo of Calabria, was burnt as a heretic at the *Porta alla Croce* of Florence (1327). His *Acerbe* speaks of the heavens, the soul, the properties of animals and stones, and natural phenomena.

The *Fiorita* compiled in 1325 by Armannino, a notary of Bologna, and the *Fiore d'Italia* of Guido of Pisa are of about the same period, and narrate events from the beginning of the world to the death of Pompey. Giovanni Villani, a Florentine merchant and prior of Florence, wrote the *Cronaca di Firenze*, which begins with the destruction of the tower of Babel, and mixes biblical tradition with classic mythology. This chronicle ends in 1348, when Villani died of plague. His son Filippo continued the account to 1364. Italian mediaeval literature was inspired by religion, love, chivalrous homage, mystic adoration, and sensual desire; by communal life with its passions, gay customs, and merry companions; by philosophy, politics, and science.

Pucci and other *borghese* rhymers of the late *trecento* portray ordinary life. Sacchetti's *pastorelle* and *madrigali* were sung. Other poems

depict the joy of an escaped nun, and the tedium of a girl who cannot meet the men. The "story-singers" recited their poems in the *piazze*. The *cantare* began with an invocation to God or the Virgin, and recited deeds of the chivalric, Carolingian, and Breton cycles, and legends, myths, and contemporary events. The *profezie* sometimes predicted events which had already happened. After Dante, Boccaccio, and Petrarch and the various *canzoniere*, Italy produced no great literary work in the fourteenth century. Franco di Benci Sacchetti the Florentine (1330-1400), born of a noble Guelph family, is the last voice of the century. Besides *ballata*, *madrigali*, *sonetti*, *canzoni*, he composed *La Battaglia delle belle donne di Firenze colle vecchie*. His fame rests upon his over two hundred tales of the Florentine burghers' life of the late *trecento*. Sacchetti is never inspired. When Boccaccio dies, he exclaims:

Ora e mancata ogni poesia,
a evote son le case di Parnaso . . .
S'io piango o grido, che miracol fia,
pensando che un sol c'era rimaso
Giovan Boccaccio; ora e di vita fore? . . .

Poetry has died completely, and the
dwellings of Parnassus are empty;
Why is it strange that I should weep
and cry at the thought that one person
alone was left to us, Giovan Boccaccio;
and now he is dead?

Come deggio sperar che surga Dante
che già chi il sappia legger non si trova?
e Giovanni, che e morto, ne fe' scola

How can I hope that Dante will arise again,
when not a person exists today, who can
read him? And Giovanni expounded him, and is dead.

The thirteenth century closed in splendor, with Cino and Cavalcanti and Dante illuminating the new era; but the close of the fourteenth century was a dreary nightfall; and good Sacchetti pondered, "Who knows when the sun will shine again?" The *popolo grasso* were coming to the top in Florence. Private life was sociable and the new literature was sensual, pagan, and profane. And the artist who opened this gay world was Giovanni Boccaccio (1313-1375). His great volumes in Latin were enormously admired in his day, but it was only when he wrote for his own pleasure that he found glory.

CHAPTER XI

Dante

DANTE represents the old order. His family boasted Roman blood, a knight of Charlemagne, a nobleman of the company of Arrigo II, a Crusader Knight of Conrad III, with castles in the country and towers in the town. The Alighieri family, *Antica Famiglia Degli Aldighiero*, comes from the noble stock of Elisei. Cacciaguida, whose apotheosis Dante celebrates in the *Paradiso*, was the father of a certain Alighiero who was the father of Alighiero II, whose son Dante was born in Florence in May 1265. The name Dante, the diminutive of Durante, was given him at the baptismal font of his "bel S. Giovanni." Early in life he lost his mother and about 1280 his father died. There survived the stepmother, a stepbrother, Francesco, and two sisters.

Meantime Dante grew up, perhaps within monastery walls. At eighteen he sent forth his first love song. Just at this time Guelphs and Ghibellines became reconciled. "In June of the year 1283," writes the Chronicler Villani, "at the festival of St. John, when the city of Florence was happy, quiet and at peace, a social union was formed, composed of a thousand people who, all clad in white, arranged a succession of sports, merrymakings, dances. This Court-of-love lasted nearly two months, and it was the finest and most famous that had ever been in Florence. There were at that time in Florence more than three hundred knights and many groups of cavaliers and lesser nobles, who held high festival at morn and eve."

Six years later Dante, as one of the *Grandi* in the battle of Campaldino against Arezzo, fought among the spearmen in the Guelph army (June 15, 1289). In August of the same year he seems to have been with the Florentine expedition which captured Caprona Castle from the Pisans, and was one of the *Savi* called for the election of the Priors on December 14, 1289. In May 1300, he was ambassador to S. Gimignano, and from June to August 1300 he was one of the Priors of Florence. In accordance with the "Ordinance of Justice" Dante was enrolled in the guild of the apothecaries. Though he belonged to the

Cerchi, called Bianchi, Dante married Gemma Donati of the Neri party. This is the reason that Corso Donati, though Dante's brother-in-law, became his political enemy. Both Bianchi and Neri were Guelphs, but the Bianchi desired the independence of Florence, while the Neri favored papal dominion. As a matter of fact, "The only goal before these local parties was the control of the community, from which one party strove to exclude the other. So we often see that in the Italian cities, for the sake of their own interest, the Ghibellines oppose the Emperor, and the Guelphs at strife with the Pope." *

Although the great mass of the Florentines were democratic, a distinction arose between the *popolo grasso*, the industrial and mercantile class, and the *popolo minuto*, the mechanics and small shopkeepers. At the bottom, without legal rights, were the *plebs*, partly skilled workmen, partly rustics. The strife between bourgeoisie and magnates was chiefly determined by economic interest. Private life was unknown in Florence. Florentine inquisitiveness, the closeness of their city life, made it easily possible for Dante to keep himself informed about the habits of all prominent individuals. Without this knowledge Dante could not have put one of his fellow citizens into Hell, another into Purgatory, and a third into Heaven.

Rapidly developed economic prosperity beguiled the simplest bourgeois families into luxury. Giovanni Villani writes: "Everyone strove for riches and display. Cathedrals, monastic churches and splendid monasteries were erected, and the outlay made it seem as if the folk were mad." Friend, wife, family, property, party, and fatherland—misfortune destroyed all that was near and dear to Dante, until he stood alone, as he himself has said: a party by himself. Such a type of greatness is always unsocial.

After the Neri had seized the power in November 1301, they condemned the Bianchi to death and exile. On January 27, 1302, Dante Alighieri was condemned, *in contumacia*, to the payment of a large fine, to exile, to exclusion from office, and, should payment of his fine not be made, to the confiscation of all his goods. On March 10, 1302, he was condemned to exile for life and "should he ever come within the power of the Commune, to death by fire." Dante wandering from city to city seeking protection, reached Verona in 1303, and prayed for the coming of Henry the Deliverer. In 1310 Henry VII

* Salvemini, *Magnatie popoloni in Firenze dal 1280 al 1295*, pp. 2-3.

of Germany came to Italy with an army, a new Charlemagne seeking an imperial crown in Rome. He besieged Florence, and while he was preparing for a campaign against Robert of Naples he died at Buonconvento, August 24, 1313. The death of Henry was Dante's heaviest blow. Florence requited Dante's love for the Emperor with a new edict of banishment (1314).

In the *Convito*, Dante writes: "For it pleased the citizens of Florence, the fairest and most renowned daughter of Rome, to cast me out of her most sweet bosom, where I was born and bred and passed half of the life of man, and in which, with her good leave, I still desire with all my heart to repose my weary spirit and finish the days allotted me; and so I have wandered in almost every place to which our language extends, a stranger, almost a beggar, exposing against my will the wounds given me by fortune, too often unjustly imputed to the sufferer's fault. Truly I have been a vessel without sail and without rudder, driven about upon different ports and shores by the dry wind that springs out of dolorous poverty" (I, iii). Despair darkened about him:

"How long," I answered, "I may live, I know not;
Yet my return will not so speed by,
But I shall sooner in desire arrive;
Because the place where I was set to live
From day to day of good is more depleted,
and unto dismal ruin seems ordained."

In highest Heaven, he sets the throne
. . . of noble Henry, who shall come
To redress Italy ere she be ready.*

"Ere she be ready!" If not Henry then another must come as the imperial deliverer.

In May 1315 Florence voted a general amnesty on condition that the exiles pay a fine and present themselves in the church of S. Giovanni. But Dante indignantly refused such conditions. "Our Poet," writes Boccaccio, "was of a lofty and very scornful disposition." Dante writes to a Florentine friend: "From your letter I learn with gratitude how I may receive pardon and return forthwith on condition that I pay a certain sum of money and submit to the stigma of the oblation; two propositions which are as ridiculous as they are

* *Paradiso*, XXX, 137, 138.

ill-advised. This then is the gracious recall of Dante Alighieri to his native city, after the miseries of well-nigh fifteen years of exile! This is the reward of innocence. No! My father, not by this path will I return to my native city. If some other can be found which does not derogate from the fame and honour of Dante, that will I tread with no lagging steps. But if by no such path Florence may be entered, then will I enter Florence never. Assuredly bread will not fail me."

In Ravenna, Dante found comfort from Guido Novelli and from Cangrande della Scala, lord of Verona (1318), and in Ravenna he died and was buried in the church of S. Francesco. "In the month of July 1321, died the Poet Dante Alighieri of Florence, in the city of Ravenna, in Romagna, after his return from an embassy to Venice for the Lords of Polenta with whom he resided; and in Ravenna before the door of the principal church he was interred with high honour, in the habit of a poet and great philosopher. He died in banishment from the community of Florence, at the age of about fifty-six. This Dante was an honorable and ancient citizen of Porta San Piero at Florence, and our neighbor; and his exile from Florence was on the occasion of Charles of Valois, of the house of France, coming to Florence in 1301, and the expulsion of the White party." *

Bernardo Bembo, praetor in Ravenna for the Republic of Venice, restored Dante's sepulchre 1383. The Cardinal Legate Domenico Maria Corsi built the funeral chapel in 1692, and in 1780 it was modified to its present form by order of Cardinal Luigi Valenti Gonzaga, legate of Romagna. There rests the remains of the great poet. In the solitude of exile, in the night of sorrow, he had conceived his mighty poem which adorned and closed the Middle Ages. He had no followers. Of Dante we have this vivid portrait. The thick sensuous underlip upborne by the strong projecting chin, firmly closed mouth, the hollow, deeply furrowed cheeks, the large deep-set eyes and the aquiline nose, the knitted brow and the depressed eyebrows, the dark hair and skin, his bent shoulders, the meditative expression of the man who in life and in vision had experienced the *Inferno* and *Purgatorio*, and now with his Beatrice had attained his *Paradiso*.

Guido Cavalcanti was the noblest, greatest, bravest, and most un-

* Villani's notice of Dante, *Cronaca*, Lib. IX, c. 136. Transl. in Napier's *Florentine History*, Book 1, chap. 16.

happy friend of Alighieri. He may have been at this time (1283) eight years Dante's senior. Proud of his nobility, son-in-law of Farinata degli Uberti, contemptuous of the humble people, a feudal (white) Guelph, and enemy of the Donati, he disdained to record his name in a bourgeois guild, and was banished (June 24, 1300) by Dante, who was at that time a Prior. Cavalcanti transplanted the *dolce stil nuovo* from Bologna to Florence. Cavalcanti and Dante sought the same end. To Dante's first poetic vision Guido replied: "The loftiest, loveliest, noblest of all things that can befall a man, Love, thou hast discovered. Good fortune on thy way!" *

When Dante sinks to a lower and vulgar love, Cavalcanti sends to him that saddest of all sonnets, the last memorial of his friendship:

I come to thee so oft, so oft by day
And yet I find thee in unworthy thought.
Then am I saddened for thy noble soul
And gifts so manifold that thou hast lost.
Thou heldest many a man once in disdain
And shunned the company of wretched folk,
And then did speak such hearty words of me
So that I treasured every song of thine.
Now is thy life so base I do not dare
To show thee that thy verse is dear to me.
To thee I come so that thou seest me not
If thou this little song full oft wilt read
Then shall the ignoble life that hunteth thee
Lose its fast hold in thy degenerate soul.

Two *canzoni*, thirteen ballads, and thirty-eight sonnets of Cavalcanti's have been preserved.

Then the great humorist and jester Cecco Angiolieri of Siena took Dante into his rough school. Cecco Angiolieri was perhaps ten years older than Dante, and died before 1313. In his one hundred and thirty-eight sonnets, women, the tavern, and dice are his favorite subjects:

Three things I love and none besides
But these I cannot well provide;
A tavern, dice, a woman too
These make me gladsome through and through.

Against everything which hinders him in the indulgence of these three vices he directs his hatred and his wit. As for his father, who

* Cavalcanti's sonnet, *Vedeste al mio parere*.

locked his wine cellar and closed his purse, he wished him dead and his mother no less:

Were I the wind, I'd tear the world to tatters,
 And if the fire, I'd crunch it into sparks.
 Were I the sea, full long ago 'twere sunken
 If I were God, I should have hurled it in the abyss
 Were I the Pope, a jolly life I'd lead,
 I would annoy my Christian rascals!
 If I were King, I'd chase my people to the gallows!
 If I were Death, then straightway I would visit
 My precious father, oncel If I were Life
 Then nevermore I'd step across his threshold.
 If I were Cecco—Hal but so I am;
 I'd take the fairest maidens as mine own
 To other men I'd leave the ugly ones.*

Jacopone da Todi (1230-1306) is the most important author of sacred lauds. He entered the Franciscan order and became a "spiritual." His thrilling song rushes on and mingles mystical fervor with chivalrous love.† Dante may well have been acquainted with Jacopone's songs, certainly Dante's poetry was influenced by the Franciscan lauds. This sensualized devotion of the Franciscan and the love-service of the Knight meet in the *stil nuovo*. Dante's idea of the physical-spiritual love, which is so prevalent in the Franciscan lauds, was a novel form of Platonism, first introduced into poetry by the troubadours. Married life leads only to friendship. True love is an art, and can be found only outside of wedlock. Its physical delight is mingled with a spiritual adoration similar to the love of God.

In Guido Guinizelli's poem *Al cor gentil ripara sempre amore*, this service of woman and religious devotion are united. The evolution of Dante's Beatrice is revealed in Guinizelli's *canzone*:

Love only the noble (gentil) heart abides
 As in the verdant forest dwells the bird.
 Love was not ere the noble heart was made
 Nor noble heart created before love;
 For when the sun appeared
 Then came the sunbeam too; and until then
 The sun itself was not.
 Alone in noble spirit doth love find
 His true and only home,
 As in the flame of fire the light is found—

* Cecco's sonnet, *S' i' fosse foco, ardere' il monde*.

† Cf. A. d'Ancona, Jacopone da Todi, in *Studi sulla letteratura Italiana dei primi secoli*, Ancon, 1884, pp. 41 and 47 sqq.

This deification of woman which is of troubadour origin, joining with Umbrian and Tuscan lauds, created the sweet new style *il dolce stil nuovo*, which came to Bologna and Florence by way of Sicily. Under the rule of the Arabs, of the Normans, and of the Hohenstaufens, a rich civilization—many-sided, brilliantly colored, somewhat international in character—attracted the wandering troubadours and minstrels of France and Provence; for the so-called Sicilian minnesingers were by no means all Sicilians. Accordingly, Dante regarded literary Italian as a *volgare aulicum*, the vernacular of the imperial court of the Emperor Frederic II and his son Manfred.* When the troubadour love songs were written in Italian and came to Tuscany, it was not a courtly society but the whole upper class of citizens who continued the traditions of the Sicilian poets in Arezzo, Siena, Lucca, Pisa, Pistoia, and especially in Florence.

Beatrice first appears in the *Vita Nuova*. She was nine years old, "dressed in the most noble red, girdled and adorned as best becomes her youthful age." When after nine years she again appeared to Dante, dressed in white, and when she passed along the street and saluted him "very virtuously," he seemed "to see every aspect of holy bliss," a beautiful apparition that offered him a fleeting smile as she passed by. While Beatrice was alive angels and saints desired her (*canzone Donne che avete, canzone Donna pietosa, sonetto Oltre la sera and canzone Voi che intendendo*). After her death, Beatrice, she who had been the mortal maiden, now shines in the empyrean glory with a spiritual beauty, and becomes a symbol of a deeper knowledge of God; and this scene in Paradise perhaps suggested the future work.

Who is this Beatrice of the *Vita Nuova* in which imagination and reality melt together? The identification of Dante's Beatrice with the daughter of Folco Portinari, wife of Simone de' Bardi, has been much discussed. Boccaccio thus describes their meeting. "It happened that mingling with others of his age in the house where a celebration was being held, Dante met a young girl, daughter of the above mentioned Folco, whose name was Bice and who perhaps was eight years of age, graceful and beautiful in conformity with her youth, and very charming and pleasing in her ways, dressed rather beyond her age and very serious and modest in her speech. Besides this, her features were very delicate and pleasing and showed both beauty and such an innocent charm that many thought her very like an angel. Thus she must

* *De vulgari Eloquentia*, I, 12.

have appeared to the eyes of Dante on the occasion of that feast as I have painted her, or perhaps even more beautiful."

"It is to be premised that in fact a certain madonna Beatrice of a Florentine family called Portinari, very famous for her manners and her beauty, was in Florence in the writer's time and that this writer, Dante, during her life, was her admirer and composed many songs in her honour; and then after her death, to honour her name, was pleased to present her in his poem, usually under the allegory and character of Theology." Thus wrote Dante's son Pietro, 1360.* Folco Portinari in a will dated 1288 designated her as "Madonna Bice his daughter, and wife of Messer Simone de Bardi," thus confirming her identity with Dante's Beatrice.

The Beatrice of the *Vita Nuova* is the poetic embodiment of a spiritual development. The verses of the poem were composed before 1292; the prose was written soon after. There are twenty-five *sonetti*, four *canzoni*, a *stanza* and a *ballata*. Dante's lyric, the *canzone*, "*Donne che avete intelletto d'amore*" (repeated in Chapter XIX of the *Vita Nuova*) is a hymn of adoration from the lips of the enraptured lover. "In the *Canzone* of the *stil nuovo* there are strophes which I can only imagine as having been composed between solemn colonnades of the great cathedrals, when the glow of the evening sun shines through the stained glass windows and grows pale before the ruddy flames of the candelabra, while the fragrance of incense envelops the Holy Virgin's altar, while the organ peals and women's silvery voices fill the darkening aisles with melancholy chants.

"So Dante, no doubt, beheld Portinari's daughter, veiled by a fragrant mist, her white forehead illuminated by the wavering light of the setting sun and the flickering candles, as kneeling upon the ground she uplifted her voice to God in plaintive tones of yearning. Then time and space vanished, and he beheld Paradise and Hell, and Paradise longed for her, Hell waited for him. Then he composed the solemn verses that ring an early intimation of the Divine Comedy."†

The vision of Beatrice's death and ascent to Heaven is the central motif of *Vita Nuova*. Almighty Wisdom has assigned to Beatrice the care of the sinful and unhappy wanderer who had loved her with such perfect love. Beatrice is not delineated, but is suggested by a few swift hints. The reader must complete the picture for himself. In

* Cf. Adolfo Bartoli.

† Carducci, *Delle rime di Dante*, in "Prose di Giosue Carducci," Bologna, 1905, p. 83.

the second year after her death, and in the last lines of the *Vita Nuova*, Beatrice acquires a rival, the "*gentil donna*," a lady whose love so fully consoles the sorrowing poet as to cause Dante to reproach himself for unfaithfulness to Beatrice. The *Convivio* is devoted to the glorification of this *gentil donna*, although the biographical foundation is completely hidden. Indeed many loves may lie concealed under the anonymous *gentil donna*. The period of Dante's "moral aberration" coincides with the composition of the *Convivio*.

Written between 1307 and 1309, the *Convivio* is the first example of doctrinal prose in Italian, and proclaimed the future of the new language; a "new light, a new sun" that will rise when the old one sets. Whatever may be the allegorical interpretation of the *Convivio*, it had slight importance in the evolution of Dante's art and science. Dante's *De vulgari eloquentia* is the first attempt at a scientific study of the Italian language. Dante's commentary of his *canzoni* contains ample dissertation on metaphysics, astrology, politics, and the moral of the human soul. Theology solves every metaphysical problem.

De Monarchia (1312-13) is a Latin treatise in which Dante declares the necessity for Empire and denies the dependency of the Empire upon the Pope, since the two authorities have independent origin and the Emperor's authority is directly transmitted by God. Nevertheless since the Son of God is the founder of the Church and the Church is the "mystical body of Christ," from the Church alone comes the *lex divina et naturalis*, source of all spiritual power; and the loftiest secular power cannot diminish these rights. On the other hand, when the territorial possessions of the Bishop of Rome were threatened by the Langobards, the Pope subjected himself as vassal to the Frankish monarch Charlemagne, and the German suzerain protected him. In return for this protection the Pope was, according to German feudal law, a subject of the "Roman Emperor." It is evident that between these two theories there must be friction, but Dante avoids the issue.

In the *Commedia* Dante assumes that the words "Whatsoever thou shalt bind on earth shall be bound in Heaven; and whatsoever thou shalt loose on earth shall be loosed in Heaven" were addressed to all the Disciples and declares that it is the duty of the Emperor to interfere in Church affairs as a moral reformer. Dante considers that public and private law are united in the Emperor, that all men's possessions are imperial fiefs, that the "Donation of Constantine" was

improper; because the Emperor may not alienate his *imperium*, and the only patrimony of the Church was the patrimony of the poor. * The early Church was without possessions. "Through the Son of God," so St. Francis taught, "who for our sake made Himself poor, poverty has become the royal virtue and the seal of the elect." St. Francis took his place at Jesus's side. What a contrast with the greed of the contemporary Church, while the contest for scepters and tiaras went on above the people's head, and Italians only rarely became aware of an Emperor's or a Pope's mailed fist! This struggle between Emperor and Pope produced an abundant literature of canon law and theology, in which the great question of Church politics is never treated fundamentally.

* *Inferno*, XIX, 115-117.

CHAPTER XII

Inferno

DANTE died in 1321, and the whole century was filled by his Divine Comedy. His contemporaries named it "divine." A century later Trombetta included the Divine Comedy in a list of holy works "to be studied in Lent." The Divine Comedy was expounded and commented upon as though it were the Bible. Jacopo, Dante's son, wrote the first commentary in 1322. Benevenuto's Latin commentary followed. *La Divina Commedia* is the mystery of the human soul in which heaven and earth and hell are indivisible. "Never before nor since has a lyrical world been imagined so vast in its plot, so profound in its conception, so coherent in its parts, so harmonious in its forms, so personal and at the same time so universally human. It is the lyrical note of the Middle Ages, caught in all its abstractions and its visions, the voice of all humanity at that time." *

In what manner the subject of the Divine Comedy first presented itself to Dante is perhaps revealed in these closing words of the *Vita Nuova*. "After this sonnet there appeared to me a wonderful vision, in which I beheld things that made me propose to say no more of this blessed one until I shall be able to treat of her more worthily" and "I hope to say of her what never yet was said of any woman. And then may it please Him who is the Sire of courtesy, that my soul may depart to look upon the glory of its Lady, that is to say of the blessed Beatrice, who in glory gazes into the face of Him *qui est per omnia saecula benedictus*."

In the Middle Ages a composition was called tragic or comic according to the nature of the subject. In the *Trattatello in laude di Dante* Boccaccio called the *Commedia* divine. But the title *La divina Commedia* first appeared in 1555 on the frontispiece of an edition supervised by Lodovico Dolce for Giolito's Venetian printing press. It is probable that the *Inferno* was composed in the three or four years preceding Henry VII's descent into Italy in October 1310, and the *Purgatorio* was finished before Henry's death in August 1313.

* Francesco de Sanctis.

The entire *Paradiso* however was issued posthumously under the care of the poet's son. In the Divine Comedy two worlds are found; one explicit, the other veiled. Into the realm of the dead Dante brings all the passions of living men, and the whole of earthly life. The problem of the "other world" is resolved, the mystery of the soul is explained.

The Divine Comedy is the Middle Ages realized. A single phrase creates a personality. By invoking memories of worldly joys, sorrows, noble deeds and great crimes, hate and love, tragic, heroic, comic figures, innumerable sorts of human beings return to life. Men's characters have not been changed by the punishment of Hell. Here are rocky precipices, wild forests, steep valleys, desolate plains, surging rivers, stagnant marshes, frozen lakes, and guarded walls and towers that extend down the dark cavern of the Inferno, beaten by storms, rain, and hail, poisoned by fetid smells, sounding with sighs, weeping, blasphemy, and despairing cries, the transformation of men into serpents and serpents into men. In the circles of the fraudulent and traitors, the despicable damned meet satire, derision, invective, and torture. As meat is cooked in a pan, so the flesh of cheats is immersed in tar by hooks in the hands of horned devils.

The scenery of Hell and the actors are merged in the drama. These actors are absorbed with their own affairs. Those punished in the three divisions of the Inferno are the Incontinent, the Wanton, Gluttons, Avaricious and Prodigal, the Irascible and the Sullen; the Malicious, the Violent against their neighbors; against themselves; against God; against Nature; against Art. Seducers, Flatterers, Simoniacs, Soothsayers, Barrators, Hypocrites, Thieves, Evil Counsellors, Schismatics and Falsifiers; traitors to their kindred, traitors to their country, traitors to their friends, traitors to their lords and benefactors.

Midway upon the journey of our life
I found myself within a forest dark,
For the straightforward pathway had been lost.

In the middle of the normal course of human life, at thirty-five years of age, Dante, the wanderer in the forest of sin, astray from the path of virtue, is a type of mankind in general, "No living man escapes from the valley of sin." Dante enters Hell on Good Friday, April 8th of the year 1300. He enters Purgatory the morning of Easter

Sunday and enters Paradise on Wednesday. His journey ends on the first Sunday after Easter, making in all ten days; yet it covers Eternity. From the Here to the Hereafter, the world of the spirit tears itself loose from the earth, although in reality Dante remains stationary and the other world goes rushing by him in a vision, in which Dante makes himself the hero and the only actor who remains on the stage from the first verse to the last. This outer world is in fact his own inner world, and Dante always remains Dante.

Dante finds himself in the dark tangled forest of error of the *Convivio*. At the edge of the forest is a hill illuminated, which invites him to attempt its ascent. A leopard, lion, and wolf successively oppose his progress. He turns to flee into the forest. Virgil appears, telling Dante that he has come from Limbo by order of Beatrice who had obtained permission from God, and he offers to guide Dante through the *Inferno* and *Purgatorio*. In the Middle Ages, Virgil was depicted as the master of knowledge, skilled in magic; he was even considered as a Christian prophet. As depicted in the *Commedia*, he is a noble achievement in historical poetry; gentle and lovable. Dante selects him for his guide, as symbolizing human philosophy.

"I say and affirm," Dante remarks (*Convito*, V, 16), "that the lady with whom I became enamoured after my first love was the most beautiful and modest daughter of the Emperor of the Universe, to whom Pythagoras gave the name of Philosophy." Virgil's description of Aeneas's journey to Hades became a fundamental part of the history of the poetry of the Hereafter. The sixth book of the *Aeneid* marks the point where pagan eschatology verges on the Hellenic-Christian beliefs. Dante lays before Virgil a doubt. "The path," he says, "along which thou wouldst lead me has been traversed only by epoch-making and chosen personages; by Aeneas as the herald and champion of Roman world-rule, and the Apostle Paul, the champion of Christian faith. But I, why should I go? Who can permit? Aeneas am I not, I am not Paul, and I have no universal mission."

Through me the way is to the city dolent;
Through me the way is to eternal dole;
Through me the way among the people lost.
Justice incited my sublime Creator;
Created me divine omnipotence.
The highest Wisdom and the Primal Love.
Before me there were no created things,

Only eterne, and I eternal last.
All hope abandon, ye who enter here! *

"Leave ye all hope behind who enter here"
I saw these words coloured so cloudily;
Engraven above the archway of a gate.

"Created me divine Omnipotence."

This divine origin gives Hell its hopeless eternity and unconquerable power. Alighieri had undergone his bitterest griefs. His banishment from Florence, the death of Beatrice, the death of Emperor Henry VII, had provided the fitting mood for the *Inferno*.

"I saw and recognized the shade of him
Who made the great refusal cravenly

Hateful to God and to his enemies." †

Pope Celestine V for his abdication of his office as Pope. Monkish writers considered this abdication of Celestine V as the most stupendous example of Christian humility. But for this "great refusal" Dante condemned him to that circle of hell where are the "cowards, hateful to God and to his enemies." Here is the skiff of hoary Charon, the demon ferryman with eyes like coals of fire (C. III, 83). Dante sinks to earth unconscious and awakens on the farther bank. When he looks about him all is night. "Upon the brink I found me, as God knows, even of the gully of the great abyss." With murmured words the twain begin the descent. Down into the blind world descend we now.

Dante now enters the first circle of *Inferno*: the Limbo. Only a tremulous sigh is audible, of little babes, of women, and of men. They have not sinned but are unbaptized (IV, 35). As Virgil arrives with his pupil, Homer, Horace, Ovid, and Lucan come to greet him, and make him one of their company.

"And I was sixth among such sapience."
"There opposite, upon the green enamel
Were pointed out to me the mighty shades
Whom to have seen I feel myself exalted."

* *Inferno*, III, 1-9.

† III, 60.

Heroes and warrior-women! Electra, Hector, Aeneas, Caesar, Saladin, Lucretia, Cornelia, then the heroes of thought; Aristotle, Socrates, Plato, Livy, and Seneca, and many more (IV, 118-147).

"And to a place I came where no light is" (IV, 151). Dante's *Inferno* is an enormous amphitheatre hollowed out under the crust of the earth, just under Jerusalem, which narrows by a series of steps till the bottom of it touches the center of the earth. The blacker the sin, the more terrible the punishment and the lower in Hell is the sinner. In the lowest depth is Lucifer, with his head extending into the hemisphere where is Jerusalem, and with his legs extending into the one opposite. In *Inferno* the punishment fits the crime, either by analogy or by contrast. In *Purgatorio*, the punishment contrasts with the crime, the proud bow their heads beneath heavy weights, the indolent move quickly, and the gluttons suffer hunger.

In the *Inferno* and *Purgatorio*, the souls are shades; capable of suffering, and bearing the image of the earthly bodies they have left; in the *Paradiso* they are lights, and the degree of their beatitude accords with the intensity of their luminosity. In Limbo, the first circle of *Inferno*, are the innocents and the just, philosophers and heroes of the pagan world; in the second, the wanton, tossed and buffeted by a ceaseless hurricane. Now punishment begins (*Inferno*, V).

It is the victim of the first deadly sin, the lustful, who suffer in the second circle. A common misery includes all the captives of love; Semiramis, Cleopatra, Helen, Achilles, Paris, Tristram, Francesca de Rimini, and Paolo Malatesta. The Polentas, lords of Ravenna, and the Malatestas of Rimini, whose old feud was ended by marriage. Paolo Malatesta loves and is loved by his brother's wife. The husband stabs them both. Love is Francesca's sin and her bliss. She is meant for love, is born for love, dies for love, and in hell is still chained to love, with Paolo forever at her side.

"Love, that exempts no one beloved from loving,
Seized me with pleasure of this man so strongly,
That, as thou seest, it doth not yet desert me;
Love has conducted us unto one death;
Caina waiteth him who quenched our life!"
And I began; "Thine agonies, Francesca,
Sad and compassionate to weeping make me.
But tell me, at the time of those sweet sighs
By what and in what manner Love conceded

That you should know your dubious desires?"
"One day we reading were for our delight
Of Launcelot, how Love did him enthral,
Alone we were and without fear.
For many a time our eyes together drew
That reading, and drove the colour from our faces;
But one point only was it that o'ercame us.
When as we read of the much-longed-for smile
Being by such a noble lover kiss'd;
This one, who ne'er from me shall be divided,
Kissed me upon the mouth all palpitating,
Galeotto was the book and he who wrote it.
That day no farther did we read therein." *

In all literature, though there have been many imitations, there is but one living Francesca—Dante's.

Deep in the mud lie the souls of gluttons and wine-bibbers. The second day is ended. The wanderers follow the murky and boiling stream of the second river of Hell, the Styx, to the fifth circle, where it forms a morass. Here the wrathful, submerged in mud, smite and tear themselves. The invisible *accidioso* make little bubbles on the surface of the stagnant water. Here Lower Hell begins. Before the travelers are the bronze red-hot walls that enclose the lower Inferno. Here is a wide expanse dotted with flaming sepulchers, where lie heretics. Another day of the journey has dawned. Down a steep precipice runs the path from the irreligious to the tyrants, murderers, robbers, and slaughterers of mankind. The Minotaur, half-man, half-beast, fruit of unnatural lust, guards this circle. The man-horse centaurs gallop up and down beside the boiling river of blood, and with their arrows they pierce each sinner as he rises from his crimson bath. Nessus carries the poet over the river of blood on his broad back and then departs without greeting or farewell.

Here in the circle of the suicides and squanderers, a subdued weeping quivers through the forest, no human creature is to be seen. But when Dante at his guide's bidding breaks off a tiny twig from a great bush, articulate sounds stream forth from the broken branch, and form a petition for mercy. Other sinners chased by hungry howling dogs are torn to pieces. How cordially Dante speaks to his fellow townsmen and old teacher Brunetto Latini, who with other sinners endure the fiery rain and who are disfigured by burns! Those who

* V, 103-138.

practised simony are stuck head downwards into certain little holes with their legs protruding as far as the knee and with their soles on fire (XIX, 25); next come the diviners who walk backwards with their faces turned the wrong way. Cheats are plunged into boiling pitch and pierced by the harpoons and hooks of the devils. Hypocrites are weighted with gilded leaden capes; thieves are bitten by poisonous serpents; and counselors of fraud are enclosed in flames. Those who stir up religious and civil strife are wounded with swords by demons; and forgers are afflicted by loathsome diseases.

Hell is eternity, darkness, terror, infinitude. "All hope abandon, ye who enter here." "The place mute of all light." "Wailings resounded through the starless air." "Made up a tumult that for eternity whirls through the air with solid darkness stained." "Hope not ever to see Heaven." "Who intellectual good [God] have lost." Barely have we left behind us the great flakes of fire, and sand that ignites like tinder under flint and steel, when we come to a filthy pool where are devils armed with horns and whips, and cowardly men who run away at the first stroke. The seventh circle is divided into three circuits; in the first, immersed in a "river of hot blood, boil those whose violence cost others dear." And the centaurs, "thousands on thousands go they round, transfixing those who rise from out the blood."

In the third, a rain of fire punishes the scorners and blasphemers of Divinity, sodomites and usurers. The eighth circle of Hell is called Malebolge (evil pouches), and there are punished the fraudulent of all sorts. It is composed of ten deep trenches, called bolge, with dikes between and bridges affording passage from one to the other. In the first trench, panders and seducers were whipped by horned devils; in the second, false flatterers were immersed in human ordure.

The third trench holds the Simoniacs, called from Simon Magus, the Sorcerer mentioned in Acts 8:9, 18. "Stand'st thou already there, O Boniface," Benedetto Gaetani, Pope Boniface VIII. This is the Boniface who frightened Celestine from the papacy and persecuted him to death after his resignation, Villani says (VIII, c. 6). "He was avaricious exceedingly." He was chosen Pope in 1294. The inauguration of Boniface was the most magnificent which Rome had ever beheld. In his procession to St. Peter's and back to the Lateran palace, where he was entertained, he rode a noble white horse, richly caparisoned; he had a crown on his head; the King of Naples held the

bridle on one side, his son, the King of Hungary, held the bridle on the other. The procession could hardly force its way through the masses of kneeling people.

Boniface died in 1303. Dante assigns him his place of torment before he is dead and puts into the mouth of St. Peter (*Par.*, XXVII, 22), the terrible invective that makes the whole heavens red with anger.

He who usurps the earth my place,
My place, my place, which vacant has become
No in the presence of the Son of God
Has of my cemetery made a sewer
Of blood and fetor, whereat the Perverse,
Who fell from here, below there is appeased.

In the fourth Bolgia (Canto XX) are punished the soothsayers. "Michael Scott, the Magician," says Benvenuto da Imola, "practiced divination at the court of Frederick II, and dedicated to him a book on natural history, which I have seen, and in which among other things he treats of Astrology, then deemed infallible." In the fifth Bolgia (Canto XXI) are punished barrators or "judges who take bribes for giving judgment." Dante says that a barrator is to the State what a simoniac is to the Church: one who sells justice, office, or employment. In the sixth Bolgia (Canto XXIII) hypocrites are punished. Thieves are punished in the seventh (Canto XXIV) and fraudulent counselors in the eighth Bolgia (Canto XXVI) and schismatics in the ninth (Canto XXVIII).

Here is Fra Dolcino (line 56) who was one of the early social and religious reformers in the North of Italy. In 1305 he withdrew with his followers to the mountains overlooking the Val Sesia in Piedmont, where he was pursued and besieged by the Church Party, and was taken prisoner together with his companion, the beautiful Margaret of Trent. Both were burned at Vercelli on the first of June 1307. Dolcino's scheme was a reformation of the Church, and he died for his country no less than for his God. Bertran de Born (line 135), the turbulent troubadour of the last half of the twelfth century, was alike skillful with his pen and his sword. Beginning with the old castle in Gascony, "the dames, the cavaliers, the arms, the loves, the courtesy, the bloody emprise," and ending in a Cistercian convent, among friars and fastings and penitence and prayers, his life is full of romance. In the tenth and last "cloister of Malebolge" (Canto

XXIX), Justice punishes forgers and falsifiers of all kinds. Canto XXX is devoted to the alchemists. Canto XXXI describes the Plain of the Giants, between Malebolge and the mouth of the Infernal Pit.

In Canto XXXII begins the ninth and last circle of the Inferno where traitors are punished. Caina is the first of the four divisions of this circle, and takes its name from the first fratricide. The second division of the circle is called Antenora, from Antenor, the Trojan prince, who betrayed his country by keeping up a secret correspondence with the Greeks. Virgil (*Aeneid*, I, 242) makes him founder of Padua. Count Ugolino della Gherardesca (Canto XXXIII) was podesta of Pisa. He sought to enslave his country, and was accused of many crimes. After five hundred years his tragic story still sounds in awful numbers from the lyre of Dante. Villani (VII, 128) gives this account of his imprisonment: "The Pisans, who had imprisoned Count Ugolino and his two sons and two grandsons, children of Count Guelfo, as we have before mentioned, in a tower on the Piazza degli Anziani, ordered the door of the tower to be locked, and the keys to be thrown into the Arno, and forbade any food should be given to the prisoners, who in a few days died of hunger."

In the procession downward we have seen the infernal deities of Greece and Rome, Minos, Pluto, the Furies, the Minotaur, and the Harpies, ruling different circles of the shades. When the eighth circle was reached, called Malebolge, the list of the infernal deities was exhausted, although we are not at the bottom. There was yet to be seen

. . . the abyss which swallows up
Judas and Lucifer.

This is described in the fourth and last division of the ninth circle (Canto XXXIV) the *Judecca*. Whence then can Dante derive his imagery for this lowest region of all? On what material will the demiurgic genius of poet work?

The most fearful descriptions in the *Aeneid* are of Charon:

Portitor has horrendus aquas et flumina servat
Terribili squalore Charon; cui plurima mento
Canities inculta jacet, stant lumina flamma
Sordidus ex humeris modo dependet amictus *

* *Aeneid*, VI, 298.

A grim ferryman guards [*servat*] these floods and rivers,
Charon of frightful slovenliness; on whose chin a load
of hair neglected sprouts,
His eyes flame. His vestment filthy hangs from his
shoulders by a knot.

Cerberus haec ingens, latratu regna trifauci
Personat adverso redubans immanis in antro.

And of immense Cerberus (who) with three-throated bark makes this kingdom to resound, stretched enormously along the cave. Whose neck the priestess saw bristling with horrid snakes. The Latin poet confesses his inability to describe the deeper horrors.

Non mihi linguae centum sint oraque centum,
Ferre vox, omnes scelerum comprehendere formas,
Omnia poenarum persuadere nomina possim.

Were there to me a hundred tongues, a hundred mouths,
A voice of iron, it were not possible to me to comprehend
all their crimes, or to enumerate all their punishments.

On account of their height, Dante's giants extend into the eighth and ninth circles. Nimrod, Ephialtes, Briareus, Tityus, Typhoeus, and others. The fiercest of them are in chains. Ugolino's figure arises. Ruggieri degli Ubaldini was archbishop of Pisa from 1278 to 1295, and held to the Ghibelline party. During the years 1276-1285 Count Ugolino della Gherardesca, the most powerful and most honored lord of Pisa, passed over to the Guelphs. "And so the traitor was by the traitor, betrayed." Ugolino is great through his inexhaustible capacity for feeling and for giving torture. Though hardened and wicked he is smitten on his gentlest side; his paternal love. "Then hunger did what sorrow could not do" are Ugolino's last words as he bites into the Bishop's skull; hate draws its strength from love.

At the bottom of the abyss is a vast lake of ice, Cocytus, from which are formed the three rivers of hell: Acheron, Stix, and Phlegeton. The circle is divided into four concentric circuits in which the traitors are stuck into the ice. The first circuit receives betrayers of relatives, the second political traitors, in the third circuit also are the betrayers of relatives but rendered more sacred by hospitality, in the fourth are those guilty of political treachery, against one of the two supreme authorities, and in the exact center of Giudecca there

towers Lucifer. Dante can no longer borrow from his teacher Virgil. As deep as this the older poet never ventured.

He [Virgil] from before me moved and made me stay,
Saying: Behold Dis and behold the place
Where thou with fortitude must arm thyself.

We know how the wolf-leading, man-destroying personification of the pestilence in Homer became Phoibos Apollo; how this light-bearing god became the regulator of the ministers of vengeance in the Eumenides, how Milton's Satan borrows some of his light from that same Apollo, and, finally, how Shelley's demiurgic fire makes Satan the benefactor of man and the light of the world. By a similar process, working in the inverse order, the genius of Dante has produced Lucifer, the creature who had once the beauteous semblance. The materials were ready at his hand. The very name gives us the cue: Dis, that is Dives, riches, Plutus, Orcus! In Romanesque folklore Orcus is a black, hairy, man-eating monster. In the Old Testament, the Hebrew word *sa-ir*, translated "devils," is literally "hairy-ones." The Etruscan god of Death was a savage old man with wings and a hammer.

It is thus that Dante describes him in the thirty-fourth canto:

Underneath each came forth two mighty wings
Such as befitting were so great a bird.

And later:

At every mouth he with his teeth was crunching
A sinner in the manner of a brake;

And later still:

And when the wings were open wide apart,
He laid fast hold upon the shaggy sides.
How frozen I became and powerless, then,
Ask it not reader, for I cannot write it,
Because all language would be insufficient.

As Virgil steps aside and says to Dante:

Ecco Dite!

So Dante moves out of the way and says to the reader:

Behold the King of Hell!

Pausanias, a Graeco-Roman writer of the second century, in his *Descriptio Graeciae* describes the three-eyed Zeus, and the three-headed Artemis. And so Dante

Oh, what a marvel it appeared to me
When I beheld three faces on his head!

Who then is helmsman of Necessity?
The triform Fates and remembering Furies.*

In connection with this horrible vision of Dis it would be interesting to consider the fearful triform god of the Hindoos. From the legends and fables of Buddhist priests, groveling imagination has carved the eidolon of Brahma, Vishnu, and Siva. But Buddhism is to Brahmanism as Italian to Latin, and the basis of Brahmanism is the Veda, a collection of hymns, the foundation of Aryan literature. Zeus is Dyans; Varuna is the god of light, and related to him Mitra; the sun god Aditi is the infinite. Diti the bound is the opposite, the personification of night, destruction and death, signifying also the place of destruction, Nir-riti, the Abyss.

Was it for these deities that the soul of Aeschylus hungered when he pictured the man-loving Titan bound down by the gods to the crags of the desert? For these and more.

O Divine Aether, and ye swift-winged breezes,
ye fountains of rivers, and ye uncounted
laughters of the waves of the deep. Oh, earth,
thou mother of all, and ye all-beholding circle
of the sun, I call you to behold me, what I a god
suffer at the hands of the gods.

The Eumenides of Aeschylus are the ministers of blood-vengeance. They track the mother-slayer to his doom. But here there is an evil which demands a more fearful personification than any fury Aeschylus could conceive.

Dire to men and to gods is the wrath of a suppliant
If willingly I should betray him. (*Eumenides*, 224)

The same note is sounded in Prometheus

How urgest thou me to practise baseness.
With him I choose to suffer what is decreed,

* *Prometheus*, 523, 524.

For traitor, I have learned to despise,
 and there is no evil
 Which I hold a greater abomination.*

But who shall personify this greatest of all abominations, treason? Aeschylus's predecessors had not conceived it. Shelley's Prometheus is the Prometheus of Aeschylus; his Furies are the Eumenides as they appear.

Abhorred virgins, children of eld, whom none of
 the gods or man or beast at any time embraces.

For the continuation downward, of which Aeschylus himself knew, in Shelley there is not a hint. In the drama of the Renaissance there is no attempt at any personification of the lines of Aeschylus. Marlowe had the daring. But mocking Marlowe's soul could not conceive any such depth as this: the muse of Shakespeare was too human. Milton experienced perfidy and war, he knew many men who were traitors to God, to their country and humanity. His last days, like Dante's, were of defeat and exile. But Milton's Satan wept tears such as angels weep. Nowhere in *Paradise Lost* is the horror of treason fully portrayed. Sin springs from the head of Satan a beautiful being.

Milton has no more than transferred the Trojan Epos to grander and more spiritual battle fields. "*Et souvent avec Dieu balance la victoire*" is the measure of Milton's failure. Milton is the Puritan Homer. There is no comparison of him with Aeschylus. He is not the continuation of Aeschylus. Shelley did not know that such a task remained. John Milton knew it; but his desire "to justify the ways of God to men" led him after a false light. Milton's Satan still holds his glory and his star, still weeps "tears such as angels weep." A Lucifer of the intellect, with slightly tarnished glory,

High on a throne of royal state, which far
 Outshone the wealth of Ormus and of Ind,
 Or where the gorgeous East with richest hand
 Show'rs on her kings barbaric pearl and gold,
 Satan exalted sat.

The Satanology of the Rabbis contributed little to the conception of the Fallen God. It makes no mention of a Kingdom of Satan. In the Talmud the power of evil is not contrasted with that of good, nor is Satan represented as the enemy of God.

* *Prometheus*, 1087.

Dante, and Dante alone, is the true successor of Aeschylus. He alone has in some measure completed what Aeschylus essayed. With him Lucifer is as repulsive as Milton's Satan is fascinating. All glory is alien to him; all things of sin have their source in him. All the multitudinous aspects of his being are varying reverberations of evil; absolute and infinite. The one faint gleam of apparent ideality left to Lucifer is his name; but, in fact, even that is only darkness visible, ironic emblem of what once he was,

Ecco Dite!

. . . il punto
Dell' Universo, in su che Dite siede.

Then, too, with his hugeness of person and with all his vileness there is infinite imbecility. Here is futility, perfect machinery expressing utter lack of function. Lucifer, though living, is also dead. Even the few faint beams from God's far-off radiance will at the day of doom be withdrawn. Then living death will forever settle down upon the dolorous realm.

A world of meaning lurks in the opening verse of this canto:

Vexilla Regis prodeunt Inferni

The banners of the King of Hell advance.

These reminiscent words hint of the far-off pageants of the church-militant, making by contrast present horrors more horrible. Then follows the passage, suited in its imagery to the gloomy majesty of Lucifer when seen from afar.

Come, quando una grossa nebbia spira,
O, quando l'emisperio nostro annotta
Par da lungi un mulin che'l vento gira;
Veder mi parve un tal dificio allotta.*

As a mill that the wind turns seems from afar when
a thick fog breathes, or when our hemisphere grows
dark with night, such a structure then it seemed to
me I saw.

The banners have become the vast batlike wings of Lucifer, which in their swift rise and fall seem to advance, because the poets are

* *Inferno*, XXXIV, 4-7.

moving toward them. Brutus, Cassius, Judas Iscariot! These are the three arch sinners whom Satan's teeth are champing. The first and second betrayed the founder of the divinely ordained empire. Judas betrayed the founder of the Church, the supreme spiritual authority. Together they betrayed the divinely ordered plan for mankind. The monotonous beating of Lucifer's wings, the ceaseless champing of his teeth, his impotence to utter a word or to make other than mechanical motions, the desolation of a land of ice and life-congealing winds, the utter darkness of the vast cavern below the earth's surface, in which the solitary voices of Dante and Virgil sound alien, hoarse, and hollow, present a picture more terrible than mere silence and a life more dead than death; a spiritual death and all that makes for death.

In the life of every man two beings struggle for mastery—the Flesh and the Spirit. The function of the Intellect, during the struggle, accomplishes no more than to offer man a comprehension of the internal conflict, and from man's intellectual impartiality in the confrontation of good and evil is born Lucifer. The Greek intellect was impotent in the presence of evil; whereas the meanest hireling may overcome Satan. The conception of Lucifer, the fallen god, source of all evil, himself all-evil, is in process of evolution. The Greek mind conceived of personifications of guilt; personifications even of Evil itself. But to the Greek, evil was destitute of spiritual significance, had no reality.

How far it is possible to go in this development of the conception of the Fallen God is indicated by Henry Mills Alden when, in view of the "restoration of all things," he says, "Lucifer is light bearer, the morning star, and whatever disguises he may take in falling there can be no new dawn that shall not witness his rising in his original brightness." Dante's creation of Lucifer is the supreme literary creation in the supreme Christian poem of all the ages.

Now Dante's painful upward journey begins; light from the better world dawns faintly:

Salimmo su, ei primo ed io secondo,
Tanto ch'io vidi delle cose belle,
Che porta il ciel, per un pertugio tondo,
E quindi uscimmo a riveder le stelle.*

* *Inferno*, XXXIV, 136-139.

We mounted up, he first and I second,
till through a round opening I saw some of
the beauteous things which Heaven
bears, and thence we came forth to see
again the stars.

CHAPTER XIII

Purgatorio

I SING the second realm where is given "the human soul to win worthiness to wing to heaven" (I, 3, 5). Dante and Virgil now cross the center of the earth between the hairy side and shoulders of Lucifer and the icy crust, ascending step by step from the lowest depth of Hell. Just before morning they reach the upper surface of the Southern Hemisphere and once more they see the stars. The conclusion of the *Inferno* is found in *Purgatorio*. In Hell are the eternally damned; in Heaven the blest have attained their final goal; but in Purgatory salvation must be won; freedom must be striven for, men must learn the moral value of suffering.

Dante's *Purgatorio* is a mountainlike truncated cone, composed of seven terraces or ledges, rising straight towards the sky from the middle of the Southern Ocean, at a point antipodal to Mount Sion in Jerusalem. At the bottom, the mountain descends to the sea, and the beach thus forms *Anti-purgatorio*. Above comes *Purgatorio* proper, and at the top of the mountain is the garden of the Terrestrial Paradise. Rough stairways cut in the rock lead up from terrace to terrace. On these seven terraces are punished the Seven Deadly Sins: Pride, Envy, Anger, Sloth, Avarice and Prodigality, Gluttony, Lust. The first division lies outside the gate of Purgatory; in the second are the Seven Circles of the mountain; and in the third is the Terrestrial Paradise.

Pope Gregory the Great (590-604), in the sixth century, constructed and gave working efficiency to the dogmatic scheme of Purgatory. In Anti-Purgatory which is described in the first eight Cantos, are the spirits of those who delayed repentance or died in contumacy of Holy Church. As Dante and Virgil emerge from Hell on Easter morning they meet Cato of Utica who permits them to traverse its seven cornices and directs them to be guided by the rising sun (I, 31-109).

It is dawn. From afar gleams a rosy light, a pious song floats shoreward. A radiant angel by his wings impels a ship full of departed

souls. The spirits land and the angel departs (II, 29-51). Dante recognizes "Casella mine." The Florentine musician Casella sings a *canzone* of Dante's, set to his own music, and speaks to Dante most affectionately. Dante's shadow is cast by the sun at his back, but Virgil, being a spirit, has no shadow. At the foot of the mountain the poets encounter King Manfred, an illegitimate son of Frederic II of Hohenstaufen, who speaks to Dante.

Dante and Virgil find the ascent steeper than the cliffs of Noli, or the heights of St. Leo or Bismantova, "here one needs must soar" (IV, 27), so that wings would be needed. Finally they reach the rocky ledge and there encounter the spirits of the negligent. Virgil, ascending to another terrace, calls to Dante to follow him, as it is noon. The spirits of Jacopo del Cassero and Buonconte da Montefeltro tell Dante that all these spirits neglected their repentance until the moment of their violent death. Buonconte was a son of Guido de Montefeltro and died in the Campaldino battle in the Val d'Arno. His body was never found; Dante imagines its fate. He was then twenty-four years of age. Dante describes this battle in a letter: "At the battle of Campaldino," he says, "the Ghibelline party was routed and almost wholly slain. I was there, a novice in arms."

Virgil tells Dante that Beatrice will meet him on the summit of Purgatory. "But see yon spirit . . . who is looking toward us" (VI, 58). Serious and proud, a soul stands beside the way. It is Sordello, perhaps the troubadour from Mantua, perhaps the podesta of Verona. "O Mantuan, I am Sordello of thy city" (VI, 74). Virgil and Sordello embrace at mention of the beloved name of Mantua. At the sight of Sordello's and Virgil's emotion when speaking of their native city, Dante sublimely apostrophises servile Italy—"ship without pilot in a great tempest, given over to eternal wars." And then with bitter irony he assures Florence that his invective does not apply to her, who takes heed to be rich, wise, and peaceful!

The true condition of Florence is described in Napier's history. He writes, "In the streets, lanes, and square, in the courts of palaces and humbler dwellings, were heard the clang of arms, the screams of victims, and the gush of blood. The murdered brothers or the dying husbands were the evening visitors of Florentine maids and matrons and aged citizens. Terror and death were triumphant, no spot was sacred, no tenement secure. Florence in those days was studded with lofty towers, most of the noble families possessed one or more, at least

two hundred feet in height. These were jealously guarded, glittering with arms and men and instruments of war. Every connecting balcony was alive with soldiers, the battle raged above and below, within and without. Stones rained in showers, arrows flew thick and fast on every side. Nor was it until after nearly five years of reciprocal destruction that from mere lassitude they finally ceased to mangle each other, and turned their fury on the neighboring states."

"O German Albert!" [Albert of Hapsburg, elected King of the Romans in 1298], Dante exclaims, "Come to behold thy Rome that weeps, widowed and alone and cries day and night. 'My Caesar why hast thou forsaken me.'" Albert never went to Italy to be crowned. Henry of Luxembourg, his successor, was Dante's "divine and triumphant Henry" who in 1311 was crowned at Milan with the iron crown of Lombardy, *il Sacro Chioda*, so named from the plate of iron which lines the crown, made, according to tradition, from a nail of the Cross. In 1312 Henry was again crowned with the Golden Crown at Rome and died in the following year. This Henry is the ideal sovereign of Dante's famous treatise on "Monarchy."

The state of Rome in Dante's time is thus described in Horton's *Travel and Study* (pp. 246-258). "The siege and burning of Rome by Robert Guiscard in 1084 may be taken as the dividing line between the city of the Emperors and the city of the Popes, between ancient and modern Rome. Its obscure annals are full of bloody civil victories and defeats. "For," says Dante, "all the cities of Italy are full of tyrants." The records of Florence, Siena, Bologna, and Perugia are as crammed with fighting and bloodshed as are those of Rome. Their fights were not mere brawls, nor were their triumphs always barren. Even the twelfth and thirteenth centuries, which elsewhere in Italy gave birth to the noblest mediaeval art—even these centuries left scarcely any token of their passage over Rome (*Pur.*, VI, 112, 113, 114).

"This very line thou couldst not cross when once the sun is gone" (VII, 54). Sordello tells Virgil that after sunset the rules of Purgatory forbid further advance, but that they can all three visit a most beautiful valley, where the shades of mighty princes sing a compline hymn of St. Ambrose. Next Dante meets his friend Nino Visconti, Grand Justiciary of Gallura. Night is falling, and three stars, symbols of the Divine Virtues, replace the four stars which represent the Cardinal Virtues. A serpent is attacked by the Guardian Angels and flees. A

shade who has been sitting in company with Nino di Gallura addresses Dante. This canto completes the passage through Anti-Purgatory and ends the first day, as indicated by the description of evening and the rising of the stars. Dante falls upon the grass, and as he sleeps, in a dream (Canto IX) the charms of the sensuous world appear to him in the form of a siren.

On the morning of Easter Monday, Dante awakes to find that Lucia has carried him to the gate of Purgatory (IX, 49-62), where an Angel sits upon three steps. After tracing seven P's upon Dante's brow the angel admits the Poets into Purgatory Proper, which consists of seven cornices, in width about three times the length of a man's body, which circle the mountain. Dante and Virgil ascend to the first cornice of which both walls and floor are of marble, adorned with bas-reliefs of Humility and Pride. The spirits of the Proud approach carrying heavy weights on their shoulders and accompany the Poets along the cornice (Cantos IX, X, XI). This description of the sculptures on the wall of Purgatory may be compared with the story of the shield which Vulcan made for Achilles (*Iliad*, XVIII, 484). This story of Troy is told in nearly the same words, though in prose, in the *Fiore de Filosofi*, a work attributed to Brunetto Latini. Dante quits these spirits, and the angel who guards the stairway to the second cornice erases the first P from his brow.

On the second cornice the spirits of the Envious sit against the cliffside clad in "coarse hair cloth" (XIII, 58), their eyes closed with wire (XIII, 70). Sapia of Siena (XIII, 109) and Guido del Duca (XIV, 81) and Riniere da Calboli (XIV, 89) converse with Dante and deplore the vices of their countrymen (Canto, XV). It is vesper hour in Purgatory (*La*), and in Italy (*qui*) it is midnight. Dante is dazzled by the radiance of an angel, who bids the Poets mount the stairway to the third cornice where Anger is chastised (Canto XV). "There drifted towards us a smoke as black as night," and from the "darkness of hell" (XVI, 1), Dante hears the spirits of the angry praying (16). Marco Lombardo (XVI, 46) tells Dante that false guidance is the cause . . . which makes the world so full of guilt (XVI, 103, 104). "The Roman Church fallen in the mire doth self and load besmirch (XVII, 67)." After the angel of Peace has erased the third P from his brow, Dante ascends the stairway to the fourth cornice. It is the midnight hour and the moon looks like a bucket on fire (XVIII, 75). Spirits of the Slothful rush past him round the cornice.

"Good Barbarossa's rule, of whom Milan speaks even with a sigh" (XVIII, 120). This is the famous Emperor Frederick Barbarossa. In 1162 he burned and devastated Milan, Brescia, Piacenza, and Cremona. He was drowned in the Salef in Armenia, on his crusade in 1190, while endeavoring to ford the river on horseback. His character is thus drawn by Milman, and sufficiently explains why Dante calls him "the good Barbarossa." "Frederick was a prince of intrepid valour, consummate prudence, unmeasured ambition. Of the constitutional rights of the Emperor, Frederick proclaimed the loftiest notions."

He was to the Empire what Hildebrand and Innocent were to the papacy. His power was of God alone; to assert that it was bestowed by the successor of St. Peter was a lie, and directly contrary to the doctrine of St. Peter. "I see the Fleur-de-lis come to Alagna and in his Vicar, Christ made captive" (XX, 87-88). This passage alludes to the seizure and imprisonment of Pope Boniface VIII by the troops of Philip the Fair at Alagna (the modern Anagni) in 1303. Dante brands the pride, the avarice, the treachery of Boniface in his most terrible words, and consigned him to the direst doom. Nevertheless Christendom shuddered to behold the Fleur-de-lis enter into Anagni and Christ again captive in his Vicar.

Dante dreams, and as daylight awakens him, an angel erases the fourth P from his brow and thus purges him from the sin of *Accidio*. On the fifth cornice Dante looks upon the penance of the Avaricious. Pope Adrian V commands him to render glory and homage to God alone (XIX, 107). The shade of Hugh Capet (XX, 49) of France relates the two greatest crimes attributed to his descendant, Charles of Anjou; then he mentions a second Charles (*Sans Terre*) to whom Dante's banishment was partly due, and foretells the outrage that will be perpetrated upon Pope Boniface VIII by Philippe le Bel (XX, 87). All the spirits in Purgatory sing the *Gloria in excelsis* (XX, 136), and the mountain of Purgatory quakes, for a spirit has completed its purgation.

(XXI, 67-68) This canto is devoted to the interview with the poet Statius, whose release from punishment was announced by the earthquake and the outcry at the end of the last canto. Juvenal says of him:

All Rome is pleased when Statius will rehearse,
And longing crowds expect the promised verse;

His lofty numbers with so great a gust
They hear, and swallow with such eager lust;
But while the common suffrage crowned his cause,
And broke the benches with their loud applause,
His Muse had starved, had not a piece unread,
And by a player bought, supplied her bread.*

Dante ascends the stairway and reaches the sixth cornice at one hour before noon, and sees a tree laden with fruit and besprinkled with cool water (XXII, 131). The mean and emaciated Spirits of the Gluttonous overtake the Poets.

Here Dante finds a friend of his youth, Forese Donati (XXIII, 48), with whom he had wasted many a wild night in revelry. Memories, hopes, and news are exchanged. Each shade wished to be remembered to some dear one. How lovable is Forese with his "My Nella, my little widow, whom I loved so well!" "This Forese," says Buti, "was a citizen of Florence, and was brother of Messer Corso Donati, and was very gluttonous; and therefore the author feigns that he found him here, where the Gluttons are punished."

Forese Donati points out to Dante the spirit of Bonagiunta degli Urbicciati (XXIV, 20) who prophesies that a maiden of Lucca (XXIV, 44), of the name of Gentucca, will make Dante feel tender towards that city. Fra Guittone d'Arezzo (XXIV, 57), a contemporary of the Notary, was one of the *Frati Gaudenti*, or Jovial Friars, mentioned in *Inferno*, XXIII. He first brought the Italian sonnet to the perfect form it has since preserved, and left behind the earliest specimens of Italian letter-writing (XXIV, 121). The Centaurs, "those damned man-beasts" born of Ixion and the Cloud, and having the "double breasts" of man and horse, became drunk with wine at the marriage of Hippodamia and Pirithous, and strove to carry off the bride and the other women by violence.

The Angel of Abstinence purifies Dante from the sin of Gluttony and indicates the stairway leading to that seventh cornice. The dissertation which Dante here puts into the mouth of Statius (XXV, 29-108) may be found also in a briefer prose form in the *Convito*, IV, 21. It so much excites the enthusiasm of Varchi that he declares it alone sufficient to prove Dante to have been a physician, philosopher, and theologian of the highest order (XXV, 65).

"And spirits I saw there moving through the flame" (XXV, 124).

* Satire VII, Dryden's transl.

These are the spirits of the sensual being purged by fire. "The sin that stained us was hermaphrodite" (XXVI, 82). Dante's lustful transgressors, even the homosexual ones, are talented, appealing characters. With hasty greetings, full of fine courtesy, they pass each other by. In the *Purgatorio* the souls rest in sweet tranquillity; delicate sentiments of friendship, compassion, and forgiveness prevail. They meet the Spirits of Guido Guinicelli (XXVI, 92) and Arnaud Daniel (XXVI, 142), that troubadour of the thirteenth century, whom Petrarch calls the "Grand Master of Love," who was born of a noble family at the castle of Ribeyrac in Perigord. Arnaud Daniel invented the *sestina*, a song of six stanzas of six lines each, with the same rhymes repeated though arranged in different and intricate order.

"When I had entered, into the molten glass I would have cast me to be cool again." Dante, still in the seventh cornice, enters the purifying flames, the heat of which is greater than that of boiling glass (XXVII, 49). The poets issue from the flames at the entrance to the lofty stairway leading up to the Terrestrial Paradise. Here they find themselves in the ancient Garden of Eden, the Terrestrial Paradise, which has remained in its pristine beauty since the expulsion of Adam and Eve. The Angel guarding the Terrestrial Paradise invites them to approach before sunset. It is night, and the poets sleep on the steps of the stairway and Dante dreams of a beauteous lady Leah (XXVII, 101), who probably foreshadows Matilda whom he will see in the Terrestrial Paradise. Dante awakes and Virgil indicates the risen sun and the beautiful forest where he is now free to roam (XXVII, 131). "Henceforth take thine own pleasure for thy guide" (XXVII, 142). Virgil has finished his mission.

This Terrestrial Paradise suggests that of Milton's *Paradise Lost* (IV, 214) and Mount Acidale in Spenser's *Faerie Queene* (VI, x. 6), and Tasso's "Garden of Armida," in the *Gerusalemme*, XVI. Hate is solitary; Hell has no choruses. In Purgatory all the characters of the play appear in groups and sometimes sing. In this Terrestrial Paradise "dwells springtime perpetual" (XXVIII, 143). Dante and his guides are walking by the little rill Lethe; Matilda appears to him (XXVIII, 37), "a lady solitary, singing and plucking flowers" (XXVIII, 41). Dante follows Matilda's steps on his side of the stream. "The gift she gave of lifting up her eyes." The solemn calm of the forest is adorned by Matilda's grace and cordiality as she discourses on "the highest

good" and "our fall." "She sang, as an enamored maid might sing" (XXIX, 3). This Matilda is supposed to be Countess Matilda, daughter of Boniface, Count of Tuscany, and wife of Guelph, of the house of Suabia, who used her utmost power to strengthen the chief spiritual against the chief temporal power.

Suddenly from seven golden candlesticks a blinding radiance shines (XXIX, 50, 54). A procession of prophets and patriarchs approach. It is the army of the Church Militant. The triumphal chariot of the Church is drawn by a Gryphon, half lion, half eagle, who typifies Christ (XXIX, 84-120) in his divine and human nature. Seven maidens accompany the car, three represent the Theological virtues and four represent the Cardinal virtues (XXIX, 121-131). The Seven Stars, or Septentrion of the highest heaven, are the seven lights that lead the procession, the seven gifts of the Holy Ghost, by which all men are guided safely in things spiritual, as the mariner is by the Septentrion, or Seven Stars of the Ursa Minor, two of which are called the "Wardens of the Pole," and one of which is the "Cynosure or Pole Star" (XXX, 1). One of the four and twenty elders in a loud voice summons Beatrice, the Bride of Heaven. Virgil has finished his mission and disappears (XXX, 49); and with Virgil's exit, the most beautiful and most human figure of the whole poem has departed.

Beatrice, "in her bearing stern," reproves Dante for bewailing the loss of Virgil, and chides him for his unfaithfulness, saying, "He turned from me and to another gave himself in gage" (XXX, 126). "Outpouring in a torrent tears and sighs" (XXXI, 20). "Remorse so fastened on my heart its claws, that I fell beaten" (XXXI, 88, 89). Dante confesses that he was led into sinful pleasures. Beatrice tells him that his confession has caused the grindstone to blunt instead of to sharpen the sword of Justice. Matilda submerges Dante in Lethe to destroy the memory of his sin, and he gazes upon Beatrice, "O splendor of eternal living light." "Heaven in its harmony thine only veil" (XXXII, 144). "So fixed these eyes of mine were, and so rapt in satisfaction of their ten years' thirst" (XXXII, 1, 2).

The poet hears:

"Dante! weep not, that Virgil leaves thee; nay,
Weep thou not yet; behooves thee feel the edge
Of other sword; and thou shalt weep for that" (XXX, 55, 57).

Dante makes Beatrice appear clothed in the colors of the three Theological Virtues described in Canto XXIX, 121.

"Over her snow-white veil with olive *cincl*
 Appeared a lady under a green mantle
 Vested in colour of the living flame" (XXX, 30, 33).

The white veil symbolizes faith; the green mantle, hope; the red tunic, charity; the olive crown denotes wisdom.

We do not know how far Beatrice's charges of infidelity against Dante, and Dante's self accusations as set forth in cantos XXX and XXXI, were justified by facts, and how far they may be regarded as poetic fantasy (*Purgatory*, 31).

In the earthly Paradise, Beatrice appears as in the *Vita Nuova* and in the lyrics, as a woman of indescribable perfection. When rising from the earthly Paradise to the celestial, Beatrice grows in beauty and virtue, and when she throws back the veil and shows herself to Dante, he can but invoke her with the words, "O splendour of eternal living light" (XXXI, 139). Then Dante falls asleep, beside Matilda. Suddenly he is awakened. Before his eyes begins the drama of the Church's history.

When the play is finished, the procession moves on, to halt against the Tree of Life. There, contrasted with the glorious Church of Christ in Heaven, comes an allegorical vision of the Church on earth; wounded by the Empire, afflicted by heresy, dismembered by Mahomet, corrupted by the gift of Constantine, and lastly as a shameless harlot, in the arms of the King of France. Dante supposes he sees a giant figure of Philippe le Bel dragging the chariot into the depths of the forest, symbolizing the translation of the Apostolic seat from Rome to Avignon. The Seven Maidens sing a dirge over the Church's woes and Beatrice foretells the swift punishment of its persecutors. It is now mid-day, Beatrice directs Matilda to lead Dante to the river Eunoe which will revive his languishing powers. "Made over, and washed clean of ancient scars . . . to mount up to the stars" (XXXIII, 143, 145); fitted to ascend to Paradise.

The last five cantos of *Purgatorio*, though an essential portion of the *Divina Commedia*, are really the continuation of the *Vita Nuova*. They represent the symbolical passage of the Christian Church preceded by the Hebrew dispensation, and followed by the disastrous effects of schism and the corruptions induced by the unholy conduct of political pontiffs.

CHAPTER XIV

Paradiso

IN THE *Convito* (II, 14) Dante writes: "As narrated above, the seven Heavens nearest to us are those of the Planets; and above these are two movable Heavens, and one motionless over all. To the first seven correspond the seven sciences of the Trivium and the Quadrivium; that is Grammar, Dialectics, Rhetoric, Arithmetic, Music, Geometry, and Astrology. To the eighth, that is, to the starry sphere, Natural Science called Physics corresponds, and the first science which is called Metaphysics; and to the ninth sphere corresponds Moral Science; and to the Heaven of Rest, the Divine Science, which is called Theology." Thus Dante's Paradise consists of the nine heavens of the Ptolemaic system and also the Empyrean Sphere, where dwells the Divine Presence. The Earth, with its Inferno and Purgatoria, is the center around which they revolve.

The choirs of the glorified differ in glory, but the spirits in the heaven of the Moon are as truly denizens of the Empyrean Sphere as is the highest Seraph, or even the Virgin herself:

Of Seraphim he who is most enskied,
Moses or Samuel, and either John,
Choose which thou wilt, and even Mary's self,
Have not in any other heaven their seats,
Than have those spirits which so late thou sawest,
Nor more nor fewer years exist; but all
Make the first circle (Empyrean) beauteous, diversely
Partaking of sweet life, as more or less
Afflation of eternal bliss pervades them.
Here were they shown thee, not that fate assigns
This for their sphere, but for a sign to thee
Of that celestial farthest from the height.
Thus needs, that ye may understand, we speak,
Since from things sensible alone ye learn
That which, digested rightly, after turns
To intellectual. For no other cause
The scripture, condescending graciously
To your perception, hands and feet to God
Attributes, nor so means (IV, 28 *sqq.*).

Heaven is inhabited by immaterial Intelligences. All that remains of the material is pure form; luminous, transparent, intangible; the idea, expressed by light and sound. Of the color of the body there remains only light; of its extent only the point; of its thickness only the outline; of its weight only motion; of its contacts only sounds; and of its vibrations only the musical harmony. Whether man moves about the universe or the universe moves about man; whether it is a heavenly journey or an experience; everything is reflection, formula, and symbol. The poet may seem to rush from star to star yet be at rest; though there be many spheres there is only one Paradise.

Immediately after Dante's return from the holy waters of Eunoe (XXXIII, 142), he observes that it is day in the Southern and night in the Northern Hemisphere. The extraordinary brightness of the morning sun is due to his approach to Heaven. Dante is floating through the first Heaven, the Moon. Dimly he sees before him the spirits of those who broke Holy Vows. Dante's kinswoman Piccarda de Donati, sister of Forese Donati and of Gemma, Dante's wife, tells him why she and her fellow spirits have been placed so low down in Heaven (*Paradiso*, II, III). She had entered the Minorite convent of Santa Clara, but was forced into marriage by Corso Donati. Having removed Dante's doubt concerning the binding force of vows, Beatrice and Dante remain silent as they ascend into the sphere of Mercury (V, 93), where are the spirits of those who pursued honor and glory.

The Emperor Justinian (VI, 10) tells Dante of his former imperial dignity, of his work as a legislator, and how he became a Christian. The character of Justinian is thus sketched by Gibbon: * "The Emperor was easy of access, patient of hearing, courteous and affable in discourse, and a master of the angry passions which rage with such destructive violence in the breast of a despot. He excelled in the private virtues of chastity and temperance. His repasts were short and frugal; on solemn fasts he contented himself with water and vegetables; and such was his strength as well as fervor that he frequently passed two days, and as many nights, without tasting any food. Under his reign, and by his care, the civil jurisprudence was digested in the immortal works of the Code, the Pandect, and the Institutes."

The travelers make the ascent to the Third Heaven (VIII, 37), or that of Venus, where are seen the bright spirits of lovers, shining like

* *Decline and Fall*, Chap. XLIV.

sparks in a flame (VIII). Here Charles Martel of Hungary, Dante's friend and benefactor, tells him that had he lived he would have given Dante tangible proof of his love (VIII, 55, 57). Charles Martel was the eldest son of Charles the Lame (Charles II of Naples) and of Mary of Hungary. He died in 1295, at the age of twenty-three. The spirit of Cunizza da Romano (IX, 32) accosts Dante and predicts the misfortunes which will befall her native land; the Padua massacres (IX, 46), the violent death of Riccardo da Cammino (VIII, 49), and the treachery of the Bishop of Feltre (53). "Malta" (IX, 54) was a prison on the shores of Lake Bolsena, where priests were incarcerated for their crimes. There Pope Boniface VIII imprisoned the abbot of Monte Cassino, for letting the fugitive Celestine V escape from his convent. This "courteous priest" was a Guelph, and showed his zeal for his party in the persecution of the Ghibellines (IX, 58). Above is the Order of Angels called "Thrones." These are mirrors reflecting the justice and judgments of God. Folco describes the Mediterranean Sea (83) and tells Dante that he was born on that coast (88). He admits that in life he followed the love influence of the planet Venus.

Folco says that the Pope's neglect of the Holy Land is due to the money lust of the whole priesthood and that because of this cupidity religious study has been abandoned (IX, 133). Folco, or Folchetto, of Marseilles (Folquet de Marseilles) was a noted troubadour, who flourished at the end of the twelfth century. He was a good troubadour, and very attractive in person. He paid court to the wife of his lord Sire Barral, and besought her love, and made songs about her. But neither for prayers nor songs could he procure any mark of love. And so he abandoned the world, and retired to a Cistercian convent. The planet Venus completes the "Lower Paradise," whose inhabitants are still to some extent human. "Middle Paradise" includes the fourth, fifth, sixth, and seventh Heavens, and belongs to a higher class of spirits. Dante and Beatrice rise from heaven to heaven, staying in each only long enough to allow the poet to converse with some of the blessed upon questions of theology, philosophy, and astronomy.

The fourth sphere of Heaven is the Sun (X, 41), where Dante is encircled by the spirits of the twelve great theologians. St. Thomas Aquinas names his master Albertus Magnus and himself as Dominicans (X, 98-99), and Thomas points out Peter Lombard (107) and Solomon (113), and Dionysius, the Areopagite. St. Thomas names

St. Isidore, the venerable Bede, and Richard de St. Victor as the Ninth, Tenth, and Eleventh Spirits. The Twelfth of the Sacred Ring is Sigier who taught logic in the Street of Straw in Paris (X, 136). The Rue du Fouarre or "Street of Straw" (X, 137), originally called Rue de l'Ecole, is famous among the old streets of Paris, as having been the cradle of the University. It was in early times a hay and straw market, and hence derives its name. Rabelais speaks of it as the place where Pantagruel first held disputes with the learned doctors.

The Heaven of the Sun (X, 41) is "a good planet and imperial," says Brunetto Latini. "Dante makes it the symbol of Arithmetic." In this Heaven of the Sun are seen the spirits of theologians and Fathers of the Church. "The Sun signifies the vital soul, light and splendor, reason and intellect, science and the measure of life. It signifies faith and the worship of God."

Albertus Magnus (X, 98), author of twenty-one ponderous folios, was born of a noble Suabian family at the beginning of the thirteenth century. In his youth he studied at Paris and at Padua, became a Dominican monk, and retiring to a convent in Cologne taught in the schools of that city. His name, the "Universal Doctor," was the homage to his all-embracing knowledge. The whole range of the Stagite's physical and metaphysical philosophy was within the scope of Albert's teaching. Albert had the ambition of reconciling Plato and Aristotle, and of reconciling this harmonized Aristotelian and Platonic philosophy with Christian Divinity.

Peter Lombard (X, 107) was born at the beginning of the twelfth century, when the Novarese territory, his birthplace, was a part of Lombardy, and hence his name. He studied at the University of Paris, under Abelard; was afterwards made professor of theology in the University, and then bishop of Paris. He died in 1164. Dionysius (X, 109), the Areopagite, was converted by St. Paul (Acts 17: 34). A book attributed to him, on the "Celestial Hierarchy," was translated into Latin by Johannes Erigena, and became in the Middle Ages the textbook of angelic lore. The writings which bear the venerable name of Dionysius the Areopagite appeared in the West as a precious gift from the Byzantine Emperor to Emperor Louis the Pious.

There was living in the East, by happy coincidence, the one man who was qualified to translate into Latin the mysterious doctrines of the Areopagite, both as to the angelic world and as to theology. John Erigena hastened to make known in the West the "Celestial Hier-

archy," the treatise "on the name of God," and the brief chapters on the "mystic philosophy."

A voice issues from one of the "lights." The Intelligence, singled out from the innumerable multitude of holy doctors of the Church to welcome the visitants and to resolve his questions, is a Dominican friar, whose life was spent in a narrow conventual cell, whence he never went forth, except when summoned to give counsel to the Church's rulers. It was Tommaso d'Aquino (*Dottore Angelico*), who had been dead for seventy-five years. Of all the Schoolmen, Thomas Aquinas, the "Angelic Doctor," has left the greatest name. In his early youth an inmate of Monte Cassino, at sixteen years of age he joined the Dominicans. He was seized and imprisoned by his worldly brothers, released by command of Emperor Frederick II, and took the irrevocable vow of a Friar Preacher, and became a scholar of Albert the Great at Cologne and at Paris. He was acknowledged by popes Urban IV and Clement IV as the greatest theologian of the age, and was canonized by John XXII.

Thomas Aquinas' great work, *The Sum of Theology*, is the authoritative code of Latin Christianity. Aquinas is above all an intellectual theologian. He places the responsibility for sin upon the understanding rather than upon the will. His clear and unanswerable syllogisms present both sides of the argument on every question of which he treats, and within what he considers the proper sphere of philosophy he asserts full freedom of thought. It was by painful, circuitous ways that Dante came to Thomas. "After the joy of my soul [Beatrice] was lost to me, sorrow overcame me so that nothing could comfort me. I began to read Boethius's book, with which he consoled himself while in imprisonment and exile. And when I heard that Tullius also had written a similar book in which he, treating of friendship, recorded some consoling words of Laelius, a most excellent man, on the death of his friend Scipio, I began to read that also. And as one who seeks for silver sometimes finds gold, so I also found not only medicine for my tears, but also words and names of authors, of sciences and of books." In Dante the whole scholastic theology becomes a harmonious system; Thomas Aquinas and the mystics and Bonaventura all meet together, and heathen mythology blends with Christian reality.

In this Canto, St. Thomas sings the praises of St. Francis of Assisi. Providence ordained two Princes (XI, 35), St. Francis and St. Dom-

inic to be the special guides of the Church, the Bride of Christ, the first Seraphic fervency, the second Cherubic in his light of learning. Poverty was the Bride of St. Francis (XI, 59, 74). Dante mentions Bernardo of Quintavalle (79), Egidio, and Silvestro (XI, 82), who following Francis became barefooted friars. The foundation of the order of St. Francis and its provisional approval by Pope Innocent III is described (91). St. Thomas tells Dante that when St. Francis retired to Alvernia, he received in his hands and feet the Stigmata of Christ (XI, 107), and then died in the bosom of Poverty (115).

Although St. Dominic is a worthy colleague of St. Francis (118), in Dante's time the Dominicans sought for honors and dignities instead of keeping to their original vows (XI, 124-132). When we contemplate the second circle, the garland of Dominican spirits revolving round Dante is suddenly enclosed by a similar garland of Franciscan spirits (XII, 3). St. Bonaventure (XII, 31), one of the Franciscan spirits, praises St. Dominic who, following the counsel of our Lord, sold all he had and gave to the poor (XII, 70). Bonaventura names the twelve spirits of the outer garland beginning with himself and two obscure but holy friars. Then follow Hugh de St. Victor (133) the Mystic, Petrus Comestor the historian, Peter of Spain the logician, Nathan the prophet, Chrysostom the preacher, Anselm the statesman, Donatus the grammarian, Rabanus the theologian, and Joachim the seer (XII, 133-141).

St. Bonaventura (XII, 127) was one of the great Schoolmen. He was educated at Paris under Alexander Hales, and his writings consist of seven imposing volumes. He philosophizes, because in his age every theologian philosophized; but like the raptures of all mystics, his raptures tremble on the border of Pantheism. He tries to distinguish between the soul and God; yet the soul, by beatific vision, must aspire to be merged with God. This distinguished mystic and enthusiast of the twelfth century was born in 1130 at the village of Celio, near Cosenza in Calabria. "A tender and religious soul" led him from his first youth to embrace the monastic life. Joachim (XII, 139) was a Cistercian monk in the monastery of Corazzo in Calabria, of which he became abbot. Seeking greater seclusion, he withdrew to Flora, among the mountains, where he founded another monastery, and there lived in study and contemplation. He died in 1202, being seventy-two years of age.

Dante regarded Joachim as a prophet. The genuine and apocryphal

treatises of Joachim have been zealously studied by the Franciscans. The mystic symbolism of numbers became a special part of Franciscan theology. Dante accepted the symbolism of numbers and used it freely in the *Commedia*. Joachim laid the foundations for the "Eternal Gospel," which was not a book but a doctrine, pervading all his writings. Later, in the middle of the thirteenth century, some such book existed, and was attributed to John of Parma. The "Eternal Gospel" taught that there were three epochs in the history of the world, two of which were already passed, and the third about to begin. The first was that of the Old Testament, or the reign of the Father; the second, that of the New Testament, or the reign of the Son; and the third that of Love, or the reign of the Holy Spirit. The first before the law, the second under the law, the third with grace. The germ of this doctrine is in Origen, who had said before the Abbot Joachim, "We must leave to believers the historic Christ and the Gospel, the Gospel of the letter; but to the Gnostics alone belongs the Divine Word, the Eternal Gospel, the Gospel of the Spirit."

St. Thomas Aquinas tells Dante that he is right in thinking that Solomon's wisdom is only great if compared with that of other mortal kings (XIII, 95, 107-108). In Heaven, too, with Bonaventura are many of the first brethren; among the twelve in the second wreath of glorified spirits are two friars of the order besides himself. From the discourse of the "Angel of the Schools" and of the "Seraphic Doctor," we can infer that the friars must have a large representation in the *Inferno*. Indeed it had been no surprise had Dante seen a vast circle of Hell paved with the shorn pates of Cordeliers and Dominicans, White Friars and Augustines; those faithless ones, who broke their vows to walk in the steps of the Founders and to live by their Holy Rule.

Among the *frati* encountered by him in the dismal realm were two of the *Frati Gaudenti*, originally styled Knights of Saint Mary; and one of these two was the founder of this Order, Loderingo de Lian-dolo. In a crisis of the state of Florence they were chosen to exercise conjointly the supreme authority of the podesta. In Hell their place is among the Hypocrites, "the painted people," and like their fellows there, they wear leaden cloaks gilded outwardly. To Dante's question who they are and why thus laden, Catalano makes answer:

Frata gaudenti were we, and Bolognese,
I Catalano and he Lodergino

Named, and together taken by thy city,
 For maintenance of its peace; and we were such
 That still it is apparent round Gardingo.

Another member of that same merry order is Friar Alberigo, who figures in the ninth circle of *Inferno* among the traitors. He invited to supper certain hostile fellow-citizens and had them all assassinated. At the pretended date of Dante's vision, the year 1300, this Fra Alberigo was still living:

for his deeds
 In soul already in Cocytus bathes,
 And still in body seems to be alive.

There remains one friar more, of those who figure in the vision of the *Inferno*, Fra Gomita, the faithless lieutenant of the "gentle judge Nino de 'Visconti.'" In Hell he has a place in the lake of burning pitch of the eighth circle, among the *Barratores*; those who in the administration of justice take bribes, Gallura, in Sardinia, was the theatre of Gomita's iniquities, as appears from the account of the captive of the ten devils:

Fu frate Gomite,
 Quel di Gallura, vassel d'ogni froda,
 Ch'ebbe i nimica di suo donno in mano,
 E fe sì lor che ciascum se ne loda.
 Denai si tolse, e lasciolti di piano,
 Si com'ei dice. E negli altri uffici anche
 Barrattierfu non picciol ma sovrano

His earthly life was ended on the gallows.

The most noteworthy phenomenon in the history of the Church is the institution of the two great orders of Begging Friars—Franciscans and Dominicans! Two friars, Francis and Dominic, did God ordain

who should on either hand
 In chief escort her; one, seraphic all
 In fervency; for wisdom upon earth
 The other, splendour of cherubic light.

Of those two simple friars, beggars by profession, one St. Francis was seraphical, afire with love of God, divinely tender and divinely austere. His elect Bride was a dame to whom none openeth pleasure's gate more than to death. This was the Lady Poverty, to whom Francis

was espoused; and thereafter he loved this Lady even more devoutly—her and her train: the lepers, the outcasts of society, the moral and physical wrecks of humanity; the Lady Poverty, long desolate after the departure of Christ, her first love.

She, bereaved,
Of her first husband, slighted and obscure,
Thousand and hundred years and more, remained
Without a single suitor, till he came.

The sanction of the Church was necessary to give the brotherhood legitimate standing before the people, so Francis visited Rome and there

royally
His hard intention he to Innocent
Set forth; and from him first received the seal
Of his religion.

“Royally set forth,” in beggar’s garb attired! Pope Innocent III (1198–1216) recognized that here was a hero, original, independent, incorruptible, and he approved Francis’ design to found a religious order whose mission was “to promote peace and patience, tend the wounded, relieve the distressed, reclaim the erring.” Dante selects for special commemoration the saint’s voyage to Egypt, there to preach Poverty to the Soldan. Francis

through thirst for martyrdom, stood up
In the proud Soldan’s presence, and there preached
Christ and his followers; but found the race
Unripened for conversion.

Two years before his death St. Francis received the “Stigmata,” or marks of the five wounds of Jesus Christ, upon his hands and feet and side:

Twixt Arno and the Tiber, on the hard rock, he from Christ
Took the last signet, which his limbs two years did carry.

The marks of nails began to appear on the hands and feet of St. Francis. His hands and feet seemed bored through in the middle with four wounds, and these holes appeared to be pierced with nails of hard flesh; the heads were round and black, and were seen in the palms of his hands, and in his feet in the upper part of the instep. The points were long, and appeared beyond the skin on the other side, and were

turned back as if they had been clenched with a hammer. There was also in his right side a red wound, as if made by the piercing of a lance; and this often threw out blood, which stained the tunic and drawers of the saint (*apud*. Longfellow, par. 246).

In the life of St. Francis it is difficult to always distinguish between the facts of history and the myths of tradition; but through all, we see the outlines of a gentle, beautiful, and noble character. The closing scene of the saint's life is described by Dante in the person of Aquinas:

Then, the season come that he,
Who to such good had destined him, was pleased
To advance him to the meed which he had earn'd
By his self-humbling, to his brotherhood
as their just heritage; he gave in charge
His dearest Lady; and enjoined their love
And faith to her; and, from her bosom, will'd
His goodly spirit should move forth,
To its appointed kingdom; not would have
His body laid upon another bier.

The last words of St. Francis were: "Welcome, Sister Death."

The date of Dante's Vision is the year 1300; Francis had died some seventy-four years before; how is it with the disciples of Francis in this year 1300? Does his spirit still live in his myriads of disciples; or have they grown lax in their faith, and become themselves worldly and corrupt? Dante will answer the question: Aquinas the Light of the Dominican Schools instead of noting the vices of the sons of St. Francis laments the shortcomings of his own brethren the Dominicans. Bonaventura tells of the other guide St. Dominic; the two orders are one in soul, one in aim:

Where one is
The other worthily should also be;
That as their warfare was alike, alike
Should be their glory.

These new orders were, says Bonaventura, commissioned by Christ Himself, to reform Christendom:

As thou heard'st.
Two champions to the succour of his spouse
He sent, who by their deeds and words might join
Again his scatter'd people.

The loving minion of the Christian faith
The hallow'd wrestler, gentle to his own,
And to his enemies terrible.

Bonaventura recalls signs and wonders alleged to have attended
Dominic from before his birth:

So replete
His soul with lively virtue, that when first
Created, even in the mother's womb;
It prophesied.

His very name was God-given; his godmother—

She was inspired to name him of his owner,
Whose he was wholly; and so called him Dominic;
(belonging to Dominus, the Lord)

Fast-knit to Christ; and the first love he showed,
Was after the first counsel that Christ gave.

That first counsel was that of total renunciation of worldly goods:
"If thou wilt be perfect, go sell that thou hast." Herein he is in accord
with Francis; like Francis, Dominic sold his clothes to feed the poor;
he once even offered to sell himself to the Moors to ransom the
brother of a poor woman who sought his aid. It is a very spirited
account of the battles of Dominic for the faith that Dante now gives:

Forth on his great apostleship he fared,
Like torrent bursting from a lofty vein;
And, dashing 'gainst the stocks of heresy,
Smote fiercest, where resistance was most stout.

Bonaventura turns now to his own order, upon which his judgment is as unsparing as the judgment of Aquinas on his Dominican brethren. He likens the founders of the two orders to the two wheels of a war chariot, one of the wheels being Dominic, the other Francis. The Franciscan family that were wont to follow their founder's steps, now

Turn backward, and invert their steps; ere long
To rue the gathering-in of their ill crop,
When the rejected tares in vain shall ask
Admittance to the barn—

The order is broken up into warring factions; only a few true Cordeliers are found anywhere. There is little to cheer the loyal son of Francis as he considers the state of his order; though

I question not
But he, who search'd our volume, leaf by leaf,
Might still find page with this inscription on't,
"I am as I was wont."

Dante finds that he and Beatrice have reached the fifth sphere, the fiery tinted Mars, where he sees the Spirits of the warriors (XIV, 100). The hymn of Praise *Risurgi e vinci* sung by the Spirits, bind him with fetters of love (XIV, 125). Of the planet Mars, Brunetto Latini (*Tresor*, I, iii, 3) says: Mars is hot and warlike and evil, and is called the God of battles.

"O sanguis meiis, O superinfusa
Gratia Deil Sicut tibi, cui
Bis unquam coeli ianua reclusa?" (XV, 28-31).

Thus spake the light.

Cacciaguida, an ancestor of Dante, addresses him in Latin as his kinsman. Dante entreats the spirit to accept his thanks and to reveal his name. The spirit replies: "Thou are my descendant, I was thy ancestor. Thy great grandfather was my son. For Pride he is still enduring penance in Purgatory. Pray for him." Cacciaguida refers to the simple and peaceful life in Florence in his own time, tells of his birth, his baptism in San Giovanni, his kinsmen, and his marriage. He became a Crusader and a Knight, was killed by the Saracens, and came to Heaven (XV, 139, 148). "Florence within the ancient circling wall. Sober and chaste, abode at peace with all" (XV, 97, 99).

What Florence (XV, 107) had become in Dante's time may be seen from the following extract from Frate Francesco Pippino, who wrote in 1313: "Now indeed, in the present luxurious age, many shameful practices are introduced instead of the former customs; many indeed to the injury of people's minds, because frugality is exchanged for magnificence; the clothing being now remarkable for its exquisite materials, workmanship, and superfluous ornaments of silver, gold, and pearls. Ostentation increases; money-makers exert themselves to supply these tastes; hence usuries, frauds, rapine, extortion, pillage, and contentions in the commonwealth. To vie with women in effem-

inacy of person, and adorn themselves with unbecoming delicacy, is the object of our youth" (XV, 107).

"O Buondelmonti, in what evil hour thou fled'st the nuptials for another's plan" (XVII, 140, 141). "Buondelmonti, ever the source of evil in the state" (XVI, 66, 67). "Messer Guido Orlando being at that time chief magistrate of Florence, there likewise resided in that city a noble and valiant cavalier of the family of Buondelmonti, one of the most distinguished houses in the state. Our young Buondelmonte having already plighted his troth to a lady of the Amidei family, the lovers were considered as betrothed, with all the solemnity usually observed on such occasions. But this unfortunate young man, chancing one day to pass by the house of the Donati, was stopped and accosted by a lady of the name of Lapaccia who moved to him from her door as he went along, saying: 'I am surprised that a gentleman of your appearance, Signor, should think of taking for his wife a woman scarcely worthy of handing him his boots. There is a child of my own, whom, to speak sincerely, I have long intended for you, and whom I wish you would just venture to see.'

"And the young Florentine, suddenly becoming enamored of her, thus replied to her mother: 'I am quite ready, Madonna, to meet your wishes' and before stirring from the spot he placed a ring upon her finger, and, wedding her, received her there as his wife. The Amidei, hearing that young Buondelmonte had thus espoused another, immediately met together, and took counsel with other friends and relations how they might best avenge themselves for such an insult offered to their house. It was decided that he should be put to death, a sentence which they proceeded to execute in the following manner. M. Buondelmonte returning one Easter morning from a visit to the Casa Bardi, beyond the Arno, mounted upon a snow-white steed, and dressed in a mantle of the same color, had just reached the foot of the Ponte Vecchio, or old bridge, where formerly stood a statue of Mars, whom the Florentines in their Pagan state were accustomed to worship, when the whole party issued out upon him, and, dragging him in the scuffle from his horse, in spite of the gallant resistance he made, despatched him with a thousand wounds.

"The tidings of this affair seemed to throw all Florence into confusion; the chief personages and noblest families in the place everywhere meeting, and dividing themselves into parties in consequence; the one party embracing the cause of the Buondelmonti, who placed

themselves at the head of the Guelfs; and the other taking part with the Amidei, who supported the Ghibellines." *

"Dante's ancestors, being Guelfs, were twice expelled by the Ghibellines from their home, and he likewise under the title of Guelf held the reins of the Florentine Republic, from which he was expelled, not by the Ghibellines, but by the Guelfs; and seeing that he could not return, he so much altered his mind that there never was a fiercer Ghibelline, or a bitterer enemy to the Guelfs, than he was" (Boccaccio). But he did not become a Ghibelline till after his banishment.

Dante asks Cacciaguida about his ancestors, in what year was he born, what then was the population of Florence and who were its chief citizens. Cacciaguida was born in 1091, his ancestors lived in the district of Porta San Piero; the population of Florence was small but was all of pure descent. "And thou shalt prove how salt to taste is e'er Another's bread" (XVII, 58). Cacciaguida says that calumny will drive him from Florence, even as Hippolytus was driven from Athens, and describes Dante's future sufferings and humiliations. He will separate himself from his unworthy fellow exiles, and at the court of Bartolommeo della Scala will meet Cangrande. Cacciaguida urges Dante to tell the whole truth about his contemporaries (XVII), and points out Jushua, Judas Maccabeus, Charlemagne, Orlando, William of Orange, Renouard, Godfrey de Bouillon, and Robert Guiscard.

Godfrey of Bouillon (XVIII, 47), Duke of Lorraine, and leader of the First Crusade, was born in 1061, and died, King of Jerusalem, in 1109. Gibbon thus sketches his character (*Decline and Fall*, Chap. LVIII): "The first rank both in war and council is justly due to Godfrey of Bouillon. His valor was matured by prudence and moderation; his piety, though blind, was sincere; and, in the tumult of a camp, he practised the real and fictitious virtues of a convent. Superior to the private factions of the chiefs, he reserved his enmity for the enemies of Christ; and though he gained a kingdom by the attempt, his pure and disinterested zeal was acknowledged by his rivals.

Robert Guiscard (XVIII, 48), founder of the kingdom of Naples,

* The "*Pecorone*" of Giovanni Fiorentino, a writer of the fourteenth century. It forms the first Novella of the Eighth Day, and will be found in Roscoe's *Italian Novelists*, I, 322.

was the sixth of the twelve sons of the Baron Tancred de Hauteville of the diocese of Coutances in Lower Normandy, where he was born in the year 1015. In his youth he left his father's castle as a military adventurer, and crossed the Alps to join the Norman army in Apulia. He was made Duke of Apulia and Calabria, and of the lands in Italy and Sicily which he wrested from the Greeks and Saracens. Thus from a needy adventurer he rose to be the founder of a kingdom. The sixth son of Tancred of Hauteville passed the Alps as a pilgrim; and his first military band was levied among the adventurers of Italy. Under his command the peasants of Calabria assumed the name and character of Normans. Robert died in 1085, on an expedition against Constantinople, undertaken at the venerable age of seventy-five. Such was the career of Robert the Cunning, this being the meaning of the old Norman word *guiscard*, or *guischard*.

Dante, passing from Mars into the Sixth Sphere, the Heaven of Jupiter, perceives that the red light has become white. "This planet," says Brunetto Latini (*Tresor*, I, Chap. CXI), "is gentle and piteous, and full of all good things. The spirits of those who rightly administered Justice on earth form in luminous letters the words *Diligite Justitiam qui Judicatis terram*." From the letter "M" of this celestial inscription "the head and neck I saw there of an Eagle" (XVIII, 107) emerges, and finally a complete Eagle with outspread wings. Dante asks whether a virtuous heathen dying unbaptized and without the faith can be with justice condemned (XIX, 78). The Eagle censures his presumption in venturing to judge God. Many professing Christians will be found among the reprobate, and many who knew not Christ among his elect. The Eagle unfolds a terrible page of the book of Eternity (XIX, 109-141), "We are uplifted to the seventh light" (XXI, 13). Beatrice and Dante reach the Heaven of Saturn where are seen the spirits of the Contemplative. The heaven of the planet Saturn belongs to the hermits and monks, who lived on desolate mountain tops, on the peak of the Apennines, on the crest of Monte Cassino.

The founding of the Benedictine order (A.D. 529) is the last ecclesiastical event over which Dante lingers with satisfaction. The idea that the loftiest duty of a monk's life is pious contemplation underlies the two entire cantos which are devoted to the orders. The founders of the active mendicant orders, St. Dominic and St. Francis, find their place three grades further down in the Fourth Heaven as cham-

pions and teachers of the Church. "This planet Saturn," says Brunetto Latini, "is cruel, felonious, and of a cold nature." Dante (*Convito*, II, 14) makes it the symbol of Astrology. "A ladder I beheld upraised on high." And "coming down its steps a host so great" (XXI, 31) of "shining ones" (XXXI, 121), ascending and descending. Dante asks Beatrice (XXII) why in this heaven there is a cessation of the sweet melodies heard in all the other spheres. Beatrice tells him that mortal hearing could not endure the excess of sweetness of their singing, any more than mortal sight could endure Beatrice's smile.

St. Peter Damiano (XXI, 121) was born of a poor family at Ravenna, about 988, and being left an orphan in his childhood, he went to live with an elder brother, who set him to tending swine. Two Benedictine monks of the monastery of Fonte Avellano, passing through Ravenna, stopped at the house where he lodged; and he resolved to join their brotherhood. In 1041 he became abbot of the monastery. He lived shut up in his cell as in a prison, fasted every day, except festivals. He tortured his body with iron girdles and frequent disciplines. A mat spread on the floor was his bed.

The Heaven of Saturn is continued; and the ascent to the Heaven of the Fixed Stars. "The mountain on whose slope Cassino is" (XXII, 37). The monastery of Monte Cassino stands exactly halfway between Rome and Naples. From the top of Monte Cairo, which rises immediately above it, can be seen to the north the summit of Monte Cavo, so conspicuous from Rome; and to the south, the hill of the Neapolitan Camaldoli. In this interesting but little known and uncivilized country, the monastery has been the only center of religion and intelligence for nearly 1350 years. It was founded by St. Benedict in 529, and is the parent of all the greatest Benedictine monasteries in the world. In 589 the monks, driven out by the Lombards, took refuge in Rome, and remained there for one hundred and thirty years. In 884 the monastery was burned by the Saracens, but it was soon after restored. With these exceptions it has existed without a break from its foundation till the present day.

St. Benedict was born at Norcia, in the Duchy of Spoleto, in 480, and died at Monte Cassino in 543. Benedict had the ordinary fate of great men and saints. The great number of conversions worked by the example and fame of his austerity awakened a homicidal envy against him. A wicked priest of the neighborhood sent into the garden of the monastery seven wretched women, to tempt the young monks

to sin. When Benedict from the threshold of his cell perceived them, taking with him a small number of disciples he left forever the wild gorges of Subiaco, where he had lived for thirty-five years, directed his steps toward the south and penetrated into that "Land of Labor"; upon the boundaries of Samnium and Campania rises a scarped and isolated hill. This is Monte Cassino. And upon that predestinated height, the patriarch of the monks of the West founded the capital of the monastic order. He found paganism still surviving there. Benedict preached Christ to these forgotten people; he persuaded them to cut down the wood, to overthrow the heathen temple and the idol. On the ruins of this temple he built two chapels, and higher up the mountain, in 529, laid the foundation of his famous monastery. Fourteen years afterward he died in the church of this monastery, standing with his arms stretched out in prayer. St. Macarius (XXII, 149), who established the monastic rule of the East, as St. Benedict did that of the West, became an anchorite in the Thebaid of Upper Egypt, about 335. In 373 he came to Lower Egypt, and lived in the Desert of Cells, so called from the great multitude of its hermit-cells.

Beatrice beckons Dante to ascend the Holy stair, and thus he arrives in the Eighth Sphere, the constellation of Gemini, the Heaven of the fixed stars (XXII, 101). Dante in Gemini can see below him the whole of the inhabited earth, so insignificant that he compares it to a mere threshing floor (XXII, 152). Of the Crystalline Heaven, which infolds all the other rolling orbs of the universe like a mantle, Dante (*Convito*, II) says: "This is the sovereign edifice of the world, in which the whole world is included, and outside of which nothing is. And it is not in space, but was formed solely in the primal Mind, which the Greeks call *Protonoe*. This is that magnificence of which the Psalmist spake, when he says to God: 'Thy magnificence is exalted above the heavens.'"

Of the motion of the *Primum Mobile*, or Crystalline Heaven, which moves all the others, Dante (*Convito*, II, 4) says: "From the fervent longing which each part of that ninth heaven has to be conjoined with that Divinest Heaven, the Heaven of Rest, which is next to it, it revolves therein with so great desire, that its velocity is almost incomprehensible." Beatrice speaks, "Behold the host of Christ's high triumph" (XXIII, 20). "And through the light transparent shone the lucent Substance of Christ" (XXIII, 31). "The Wisdom and the Power here behold which opened wide the way 'twixt earth

and heaven" (XXIII, 37). "Christ's radiance. Here is the Rose in which the Word Divine was made Flesh" (XXIII, 73).

Christ appears three times in the *Divine Comedy* but nowhere does he appear as an historical personage. These three symbols of Christ, the apocalyptic griffin, the martyr on the cross, the victor, in the heaven of the fixed stars, indicate the purely mystical and religious nature of the Saviour, until finally in the Empyrean it is merged again in the Trinity. The triumphal procession of Christ is unrolled. A host of lights, the ransomed souls, whirl on before Him who triumphs. Silently He moves on, while the rapt wanderer loses consciousness. The Virgin follows, crowned with a circle of light and with the song of the Angel of the Annunciation; the heavenly hosts singing *Regina Coeli* (XXIII, 128). Beatrice entreats the assembled Saints to shed some dew upon Dante from their Fountain of Knowledge (XXIV).

St. Peter, "to whom were left the keys" (XXIV, 35, 55), examines Dante on Faith. St. James examines Dante on Hope (XXV, 67). "This is the one who lay upon the heart of Him our Pelican" (XXVI, 112). St. John examines Dante on Charity, in the sense of love, and the whole celestial court applauds his replies. Adam, the first soul created (XXVI, 83), joins those of the three Apostles. Adam answers several questions unuttered that are in Dante's mind. Only when the examination is completed does Dante receive, through Beatrice's miraculous glance, his increased power of vision.

Before quitting the Eighth Sphere, Dante hears the Heavenly Host intone the *Gloria Patri*. St. Peter tells Dante that the whole Heaven will blush with indignation against the occupiers of his former throne, while avarice and greed pervades the entire church (XXVII, 46-59). While the blessed ones whirl like a snowstorm on high (XXVII, 68), Dante looks once more earthward. Our globe is turned, and offers to the eye the remotest western confines of its inhabited side. This Heaven bears no stars. Here is pure immaterial space and infinitely swift motion. God appears as the fixed point at an infinite distance, infinitely small, but with utmost illuminating power (XXVIII, 16). Dante is elevated into the Ninth Sphere, the *Primum Mobile* or Crystalline Heaven. Dante (*Convito*, II, 15) makes this Crystalline Heaven the symbol of Moral Philosophy.

These nine circles of fire are the nine Orders of Angels; that is, of Intelligence, in the three Celestial Hierarchies. Dante (*Convito*,

II, 16) says that the Holy Church divides the Angels into "three Hierarchies, that is to say, three holy or divine Principalities; and each Hierarchy has three Orders so that the Church affirms nine Orders of spiritual beings. The Intelligences, ruling and guiding these several heavens (XXVIII, 130-132), according to Dionysius the Areopagite, are as follows:

The Seraphim	<i>Primum Mobile</i>
The Cherubim	The Fixed Stars
The Thrones	Saturn
The Dominions	Jupiter
The Virtues	Mars
The Powers	The Sun
The Principalities	Venus
The Archangels	Mercury
The Angels	The Moon

"A point I saw which radiated light so vivid, that the eye on which it flames, Of needs must close before such burning might" (XXVIII, 16-18).

Dante discerns the infinitesimal point of light of exceeding brilliancy round which are revolving nine concentric circles of fire (XXVIII, 25-39), of which the inmost shine most clearly and rotate more swiftly. "From that Point hangeth high heaven and all nature" (XXVIII, 41). The point is God, the nine circles are the nine Angelic Hierarchies. Beatrice explains that each of the revolving heavens (*cerchi corporai*) is united with that order of Angels which is most fitted to it; each of the nine Hierarchies of Angels influencing a sphere of heaven. Beatrice prefers Dionysius the Areopagite's classification of the Celestial Hierarchies to that of Gregory the Great, because Dionysius had received his information from St. Paul, who had seen these things when he was caught up to the Third Heaven (XXVIII).

To Dante's implied question: "Why did God create the Angels?" Beatrice replies that he might endow Creation with intelligence. "When did God create the Angels?" "On the first day of Creation." "Where?" "In the Empyrean." "How?" "As beings of perfect goodness. Jerome wrote down for you that a long span of ages, Angels were created ere the making of the world beside began" (XXIX,

37, 39). St. Jerome, the greatest of the Latin Fathers of the Church, and author of the translation of the Scriptures known as the Vulgate, was born of wealthy parents in Dalmatia, in 342. He studied at Rome under the grammarian Donatus, and was a lawyer in that city. At the age of thirty he visited the Holy Land, and withdrawing from the world, became an anchorite in the desert of Chalcida, on the borders of Arabia. At the end of five years he was driven from his solitude by the persecution of the Eastern monks, and lived successively in Jerusalem, Antioch, Constantinople, Rome, and Alexandria. Finally, in 385, he returned to the Holy Land, and built a monastery at Bethlehem. Here he wrote his translation of the Scriptures, and his *Lives of the Fathers of the Desert*.

Beatrice draws Dante's attention to the Empyrean into which they are ascending. "We come into the heaven which is pure light" (XXX, 33). "That nowhere is there brightness so intense" (XXX, 59). The vision of the angelic choirs vanishes, as do the stars before the dawn. Assembled into an enormous amphitheatre, whose outmost circles, wider than the circumference of our sun, seem to vanish into infinite distance. All the souls appear in glorified bodily shape and with human faces "in the semblance of a pure white rose" (XXXI, 1), odorous with blessedness, whose petals consist of thousands of degrees of thrones. Beatrice conducts Dante into the center of the Heavenly Rose, showing him the Saints in white robes seated on the thrones; most of the thrones are occupied, a few are vacant. "Yon great seat," the throne reserved for the Emperor Henry VII of Luxembourg, is empty (XXX, 133).

While gazing at the Saints (*la Milizia Santa*) (XXXI, 2) collected into the form of the snow-white Rose of Heaven, Dante sees a second host of Angels, who fly down to them "like to a swarm of bees" (XXXI, 7) to flowers, and back to God as bees to their hive. The faces of the Angels are flames, their wings of gold, their raiment white as snow (XXXI, 15). Although in the Empyrean, or highest Heaven, absorption into God occurs, the Absolute One does not become wholly imminent in any one of its creatures. The ones who are nearest to God, the Seraphim, do not vanish into Him but circle about Him.

Over the countless tiers of thrones, all the countenances breathe Peace, Love, and Goodwill. An old man in white stands by him, and St. Bernard (XXXI, 60) points out Beatrice, seated in glory "on

the throne that her merits assigned her." She beams a smile of farewell, then turns her face to God (XXXI, 93). The Virgin Mary is among the adoring Angels, while Eve sits at Mary's feet, and Rachel at the side of Beatrice. The seats of the Saints of the Old Testament are full, but there are still some vacant places among those of the New Testament Saints. Beneath St. John the Baptist are the founders of Religious Orders, and others below correspond to the tiers of the Mothers of Israel. The Rose is intersected by a perpendicular and by a horizontal line. Below the latter are seated the spirits of infants who died before they had attained the practice of free will. These babies enjoy bliss in different degrees because God so willed it. Only by gazing upon the radiant countenance of the Blessed Virgin can Dante fit his eyesight to behold the glory of Christ.

St. Bernard points out Adam, St. Peter, St. John, Moses, Anna, and Lucia, and then signifies to Dante that he must employ the little time remaining to him in the contemplation of the Triune God (XXXII, 120-150). St. Bernard, the great abbot of Clairvaux, the Doctor Mellifluous of the Church, entered the Benedictine monastery of Cîteaux. With Bernard the monastic life is the one thing needful. Wherever he traveled, wherever he preached, his incessant cry for Europe is: better monasteries, and more of them.

St. Bernard's prayer is granted that Dante may be permitted to rise to the Vision of the Divine Essence. "To fix my gaze upon the Eternal Light" (XXXIII, 83). He sees the Blessed Trinity "of threefold colour and of one dimension" (XXXIII, 117). Peace enters into Dante's heart, he sees the emptiness of earthly things. "The ardour of desire in me was ended." The bliss of the universe fills his soul; love fully satisfied, never satiated.

That warbling in the air expatiates long
Then, thrilling out its last sweet melody,
Drops, satiate with the sweetness,
And, in the likeness of a river, saw
Light; flowing, from whose amber-seeming waves
Flash'd up effulgence, as they glided on
Twixt banks, on either side, painted with spring.

The poem ends where God has taken possession of his every desire and is directing him with "the love that moves the sun and the other stars" (XXXIII, 145).

CHAPTER XV

The Larger Significance of the "Divina Commedia"

DANTE's great epic possesses much larger significance than any review of his cosmic journey can suggest. His is the inspired voice of a great age of the past speaking to the hearts of men in all ages. To all people, the relation between the visible world and the world of spirits rouses emotions and inspires questions. Some of these questions Dante answers. Dante's hands have grasped the shaggy sides of Lucifer, his eyes have seen men transformed into serpents; he has talked with ghosts and devils. In Malebolge he heard "such moaning as there would be if all the sick, who between July and September were in the hospitals of Valdichiana, and all the sufferers in Tuscan and Sardinian swamps were in one pit together," he "smelt such a stench as is wont to issue from rotting limbs." Dante's feet have climbed the mountain of expiation; his brow has been marked by the purifying angel; in Heaven he has seen things mortal tongue may not describe.

Always the punishment fits the crime. Dante's dead men are living men in strange situations. The *Divine Comedy* has universal appeal. It covers earth and heaven and hell; and the soul. It is the most personal poem ever written. Dante speaks for the Middle Ages. Mediæval christianity is here perpetuated. Dante thought and felt as the Middle Ages felt and thought. Through Dante ten silent centuries speak to ten listening centuries. Eating the bitter bread of dependence, painfully ascending the staircase of a patron, Dante's wounded spirit sought refuge in a vision.

The schools of theology meet in the poet. In the *Paradiso* are single stanzas which contain the substance of chapters written by the doctors of divinity. Dante's doctrine is that of Aquinas, but Dante is also a mystic. His contemporaries admired the vast erudition of the *Divina*

Commedia. They found in his triple world of the dead, every aspect of Italian contemporary life represented. The haughty feudal Tuscan aristocracy that devastated the land, the degenerated and divided religious orders, the healthy and vicious customs of town and court life, and the revival of art and poetry, all are here. Dante's problems are vital. Hellenistic Roman thinkers, Jewish Philo, Pagan Plotinus and Origen, the Christian Platonist, each contribute to Dante's world.

Dante became a philosopher through reading Boethius' *De Consolatione Philosophiae* and Cicero's *De Amicitia*. "By love in this allegory I mean study, which is nothing else than the inclination of the loving soul to the object of its love." "And when this love found that my life was ready to receive its ardour, it blazed up as a fire from a small flicker to a large flame. How often in the night when all other men's eyes rested in slumber, have mine own gazed straight toward the abode of my love." Thirsting for knowledge, Dante tosses "in burning heat on his couch." From Aristotle he borrowed the general plan, the terminology, the scholastic divisions. The *Convivio* begins with Aristotle. "All men by their very nature yearn for knowledge." From Cicero's *Paradoxa* he borrows the following passage in his *Convivio*: "Never truly have I counted as things worth striving for the money, the palaces, the wealth, the political power, nor the pleasures to which certain people are most devoted." And in the same passage, he invokes Seneca and Boethius.

In the *canzone*, *Voi che intendendo il terzo ciel movete*, Dante contrasts his love for Beatrice and his love for philosophy. *Tre donne intorno al cor mi son venuta* dates from after his banishment, which is recorded in the line *L'esiglio che m'e dato ancor mi tegno*. Among these *canzoni* and ballads which Dante declared allegorical, there are verses so glowing, so passionate, so alive, and so direct that they must have been inspired by a living woman. Though the action of the poem takes place in the world of spirits, the *Divina Commedia* palpitates with the emotions of all men, of all ages, of all places. Human nature never changes, human emotions always are the same; the life to come is but the fulfillment of the life that now is. Search for the inner meaning of the *Divina Commedia* and you will find an allegory of every human life. Hence its immortality.

When Dante feels that the matter of one of his works is obscure,

he adds an explanatory prose comment. Thus in the *Convivio* after the *canzone*, "You who with that wisdom do the third heaven move," he concludes:

Canzone, i' oredo che saranno radi
color che tua ragione intendan bene,
tanto lor parli faticosa e forte;
onde, se per ventura egli addiviene
che tu dinanzi da persone vadi
che non ti paian d' essa bene accorte,
allor ti priego che ti riconforte,
dicendo lor, diletta mia novella;
Ponete mente almen com'io son bella

My song, I believe they will be but
rare who will understand thy meaning
rightly, so difficult and knotty is thy
speech. Wherefore, if peradventure, thou take thy way
into the presence of persons who seem not
rightly to fathom it, then I pray thee,
take heart again. And say to them, O my last-born and
well-beloved, "At least take
heed how beautiful I am."

In a letter to Can Grande della Scala, Dante writes: "It is to be remarked that the sense of this work is not simple, but on the contrary one may say manifold. For one sense is that which is derived from the letter, and another is that which is derived from the things signified by the letter. The first is called literal, the second allegorical or moral. . . . The subject, then, of the whole work, taken literally, is the condition of souls after death, simply considered. For on this and around this the whole action of the work turns. But if the work be taken allegorically, the subject is man, how by actions of merit or demerit, through freedom of the will, he justly deserves reward or punishment."

Foremost among the sources of the *Divine Comedy* must be placed the Eleventh Book of the *Odyssey*, the Sixth of the *Aeneid*, and Cicero's "Vision of Scipio," of which Chaucer says:

Chapiters seven it had, of Heaven, and Hell,
And Earthe, and soules that therein do dwell.

Then follow the popular legends which were current in Dante's age; the Vision of Frate Alberico who calls himself "the humblest servant of the servants of the Lord"; and who

Saw in dreams at point-devyse
Heaven, Earthe, Hell, and Paradyse.

This vision was written in Latin in the latter half of the twelfth century, and contains a description of Hell, Purgatory, and Paradise, with its Seven Heavens.

Dante's style is limpid and luminous. There is wealth of imagination and exquisite sense of measure. The third canto of the *Inferno*, and the Sixth of the *Purgatorio*, possess passages incomparable in their kind. Perhaps no writer in any language is equally concise. His Florentine vernacular is living and fluent, abounding in colloquialisms, archaisms, Gallicism, and Latinisms. It is remarkable that such a poem should have been produced at so early a date in a national literature and a literary vernacular. Dante does not trace Italian vernacular poetry beyond the time of the Hohenstaufen Emperor Frederic II (1215-1250). Homer, Virgil, Dante, David, and Aeschylus chaunt as in a temple. It is often to his metaphysical conception that the poet owes his most lofty inspiration.

Comparison of Dante's great work and that of other poets and search for his sources of inspiration is inevitable. But the greatest poets, separated as they are by language, and speaking to entirely different civilizations, have not been greatly influenced by their predecessors. Dante had no embarrassment in associating himself with the great names of those who had preceded him. Dante says: "I heard a voice proclaiming 'Honour the great poet.' When the voice became silent I saw the shades of four great men come towards us." Homer, Horace, Ovid, Lucan. "After having talked together for several moments these great masters of poetry turned toward me, bowing in a friendly manner. My Master [Virgil] also smiled and conferred on me still greater honour. They took me into their company and I was sixth in the group of these great geniuses."

In Dante's world of poetry, lovers are kind and lovers are courteous, lovers are understanding, lovers are wise. Dante loves a beautiful girl clad in a crimson robe, whom he calls "Beatrice," possibly a dream-child. Beatrice dies and Dante's love becomes a reality, because it becomes fiction in a poem which truly reveals a soul.

Petrarch and Boccaccio

DANTE Alighieri died in 1321, Francesco Petrarch died in 1374. The more than fifty years between those deaths witnessed a social and political change in Italy. Loss of faith had been replaced by greater appreciation of human worth and by a new sense of the beautiful. Rational observation had superseded mystic contemplation. Italian literary history also had changed. A wide gulf separates Dante's thought from that of Petrarch. Dante is retrospective, Petrarch is forward-looking. Dante is Mediaeval; he closes the Middle Ages. Petrarch is a Renaissance man; but he is more—he is the first modern man of letters.

Francesco Petrarch was born July 20, 1304, in Arezzo. He lived seven years in Incisa, fourteen miles from Florence; then went with his father to Avignon (1313), the seat of the papacy. Here he studied grammar, dialectics, and rhetoric, and in 1318 went to the University of Montpellier. Four years later he entered the University of Bologna, then returned to Avignon in 1326, and became a cleric; but he never passed beyond the minor orders.

Petrarch remained in Avignon for nearly three and a half years. Then he retired to the little valley of Vaucluse, where his love-tormented mind reveled in fantasy. There he studied and wrote, collected a library, bought manuscripts and, with a view to their publication, composed imaginary letters to Seneca, Cicero, Quintilian, Titus Livius, Horace, Virgil, and Homer. Between 1338 and 1340 he wrote *Africa*, a Latin poem in hexameter verse, describing the second Punic war, and exalting Scipio. The *De Viris illustribus*, a history of Rome told in biographies, was begun at Vaucluse before the *Africa*, but it was never finished. The biographies of Alexander, Pyrrhus, and Hannibal are included. The four completed books of the *Rerum memorandum* are but a fragment of the great work he contemplated.

In 1340 both the Roman Senate and the University of Paris offered Petrarch the "Poets'-crown." He accepted the Roman invitation, and Easter day, April 8, 1341, on the sacred hill of Rome, he

was crowned with the laurel of literary immortality—the first poet to be so honored since antiquity.

Petrarch settled in Venice in 1362. From here he frequently visited his canonry at Padua, and his house and farm at Arquà in the Euganean Hills. With his daughter Francesca, he settled there in 1370, and there he died on July 19, 1374, with his head resting upon a book. His body lies in a sarcophagus supported on four columns, in front of the church at Arquà. The poet's last revision of his poems is preserved in the Vatican library (Lat. 3195), traced upon fine parchment, partly in the poet's handwriting. It is entitled *Francisci Petrarche laureati poete Rerum Vulgarium fragmenta*. There are 317 *sonetti*, 29 *canzoni*, *sestine*, 7 *ballate*, and 4 *madrigali* in all. Petrarch did not live; he wrote. When he shaved, he wrote; when he ate, he wrote; when resting under a tree, he wrote; in the middle of the night, he wrote. To live was to write. His acts were words.

Petrarch's letters are addressed to princes, popes, cardinals, scholars, and scientists; and are modeled on Seneca's and Cicero's Latin. They treat of philological, political, philosophical, and historical questions. Petrarch wrote these letters with a view to a public audience. Twenty-four books, called *De rebus familiaribus*, collect Petrarch's letters up to 1361, and a few later ones. His second collection, the *Seniles*, in seventeen books, contains letters written from 1361 up to his death. The *Sine titulo* and the *Variae* were compiled after his death. Petrarch also wrote sixty-six *Epistolae metricae*, in hexameters. His letters are his best biography. In 1333 he visited France, Flanders, and Germany. He visited Naples with Virgil's *Aeneid* as his guide. When a midnight storm raged over the bay he leaped from his bed, groped his way about the city and beach, watched the shipwrecks, observed the phenomena of sea and sky, and the praying people crowding the churches; and then he wrote a most celebrated letter.

His description of Queen Joanna's sensual court and of the necromancy of Friar Robert of Hungary is vivid. He describes the friar as "low of stature, bald, red-faced with swollen legs; rotten with vice."

With crystalline diction Petrarch's *Canzoniere* dissects the human heart. Petrarch had a sonnet for every sigh, because his Laura loved him not; but he wrote no sonnets to the other woman, the mother of his children.

Though Petrarch owed "body, soul, and fortune" to the Colonna family, he encouraged Cola di Rienzo to exterminate that family. "Towards them every severity is a religious duty. Pursue them sword in hand, even could you only overtake them in hell itself." Stern, fighting Stefano Colonna could die, but he could not surrender. Petrarch, although an ardent republican and an admirer of Rienzo, the third Brutus ("who unites in himself, and surpasses the glory of his two predecessors"), never the less entreated the Emperor Charles IV to invade Italy. "Italy invokes her spouse, her liberator, and waits impatiently to see his first footstep printed on her soil." Petrarch was melancholy, sensitive to opposition, dominated by discordance, undulating, and restless. Heaven and earth, Laura and Jesus, St. Augustine and Cicero, dispute for his personality.

He craved religious emotion, and devoured St. Augustine's *Confessions*. In three imaginary dialogues in his *De contemptu mundi*, also called *Secretum*, he pours out the secrets of his soul to St. Augustine. The Saint reproves Petrarch for his worldliness, for his literary pride, for sensuousness, for his love for Laura and love of glory; and Petrarch defends himself. In *De vita solitaria*, Petrarch idealizes that complete solitude which permits a man to live in intimacy with God. In his *De otio religiosorum* he extols the advantages of the monastic life. Yet he loved Laura, loved Italy, loved classicism, thirsted for glory, was vain in his dress, avid for amusement, and cultivated the society of popes, cardinals, kings, and princes.

In the *Canzoniere*, the poet dissected his own heart and revealed his love and his sorrow. Resting under the shade of a tree, surrounded by flowers, breathing of verdant spring, Laura inspired *Chiare fresche a dolce acque. Di pensier in pensier di monte in monte* expressed the poet's delusions and desires. *I'vo pensando e nel pensier m'assale Una pieta si forte di me stesso* described the conflict between reason and sensation, and is summed up in the last line *E veggio il meglio ed al peggior m'appiglio*. In the second part of the *Canzoniere*, Petrarch is transported to heaven, where he sees his beloved Laura living among the Blessed. In a *canzone* to the Virgin, he beseeches pardon and liberation from all his earthly affection and sorrow. Unfortunately, extravagant rhetoric, allegory, and personification too often suffocate his inspiration.

The *Trionfi*, in *terza rima* was begun about 1352 and continued at intervals until his death. Here is delicacy, melody, and expression,

but there is no heat, except when Petrarch writes of his Laura. Laura conquers the assault of Love and hangs the spoils of triumph in the temple of Chastity in Rome (*Trionfo della Castita*, in one canto). But death meets her. The following night Laura appears to Petrarch in a dream and talks with him (*Trionfo della morte*, in two cantos). After having recounted the triumph of love, the triumph of chastity, the triumph of death, and the triumph of fame, the poet contemplates a sinless world, where his Laura will dwell in glorious immortality. The *Canzone alla Vergine* (Hymn to the Virgin) is a little jewel of mysticism. Although Petrarch disdained Dante, the *Trionfo* shows clearly the influence of the *Divina Commedia*.

Petrarch shares the glorious Roman ideal of an Italy stretching from the Alps to the sea. He neither loved nor hated the German Empire, but he did hate the Roman court and he assailed the corrupt Church. He accepted the favor of princes but detested the grandees. He honored art and learning. Within himself always there was the conflict between matter and form, between the senses and the spirit, between Christianity and paganism.

The real Petrarch was the solitary of Vacluse, the poet who sang of himself, who assures us that his love for Laura is purely spiritual. Yet in truth it is the Laura of the fair hair, the milk-white bosom, the cheeks that "adorned a gentle fire," of "slender white hands," who moved him as a lover and inspired him as a poet. This feeling for lovely forms, for lovely woman, for lovely nature, is Petrarch's Muse.

Petrarch's Laura was a real woman, but she becomes more than that—the most real literary figure created during the Middle Ages. Laura alive caused constant conflict between the senses and reason, between flesh and spirit. Petrarch's love rebelled against his faith, yet his faith did not kill his love. He fluctuated endlessly, with a "Yes" and a "No": "*ch' i medesimo non so quel che io mi voglio*" ("I myself do not know what I want").

Se amor non è, che dunque è
 quel ch' i' sento?
 ma s' egli è amor, per Dio, che
 cosa e quale?

If no love is, O God, what then feel I?
 And if love is, what thing and which is it?

Torn by indecision and contradiction, Petrarch delays and repents, writes like an ascetic, composes as a pagan. Constantly inconsistent, he is torn by opposing desires, is sick with hysteria and nerves. Sometimes he is lost in the mist of Ages, beats his breast and asks mercy of God, but soon he emerges to write sonnets to the golden tresses of his lady-love. Humble today, arrogant tomorrow, he is consistent only in his love for Italy, for Rome, and for classic antiquity.

The *Canzoniere* on the life of Laura is the story of this conflict, with descriptions of Laura's beautiful body. "*I' copensando e nel pensier m'assale*." Here it is not reason that speaks, but senses that gnaw. When he turns to God, he resolves that this earthly thing shall be plucked from his heart—"false, fugitive delight," "*che 'l monde traditor puo dare altrui*" ("such as a treacherous world can offer"). So a dream-life is born. Fantasy constructs, reflection destroys. A "Yes" and a "No" in endless dispute. The two *canzoni* of profoundest thought were born from this situation, "*Di pensiero in pensier, di monte in monte*" ("From hill to hill I roam, from thought to thought") and "*Chiare, fresche e dolci acque*" ("Clear, fresh and dulcet streams").

Petrarch more emotional than passionate was easily consoled. Nature denied him great convictions, great passions, and profound gaze, but made him a finished artist; and no one has ever surpassed him in handling musical sound, the word itself is melody. The image is born sad, for it is born with the knowledge of being only an image. Yet, Petrarch opened the Renaissance. This new Italy, Roman and Latin, is Petrarch's theme in his first *Canzone*. To be the new Virgil was not enough for Petrarch, he wanted to be the new Cicero. But the most that could be hoped for from classical Latin was imitation. To the "new men" of the Renaissance, literary matter was less important than the perfect style. That the composition be artistically beautiful was essential. Petrarch was the first Italian purist living on terms of intimacy with the greatest writers of the Graeco-Latin period, but the Latin writer in him is superficial, he could not Latinize his soul.

Aprasi la prigion ov' io son chiuso
e che 'l cammino a tal vita mi serra

Loose me from forth my darksome prison here,
That to such glorious life the passage bars

is very like Catherine's "I die and yet I cannot die." But Petrarch's lines are rhetoric, whereas Catherine's feeling kills her at thirty-three. In Petrarch there is confusion and contradiction, *E veggio 'l meglio ed al peggior m' appiglio* ("I know and love the good, yet ah! the worse pursue"). He comes to us already tired, he has lost his illusions, *Veramente siam noi polvere ed ombra* ("Verily we are but dust and ashes"). Petrarch the man is less than Petrarch the artist. Beneath his poetry there are no deep places to be explored. The Middle Ages were dissolving. The illustrious sick man swayed by the surges of the coming world is Francesco Petrarch. It is the boast of the fourteenth century that it produced both Dante and Petrarch, who represent opposing literary tendencies.

Quinet has truly written, "The originality of Petrarch consists in his having been the first to feel that every moment of our existence may contain a poem; every hour of life may enclose an immortality."

Giovanni Boccaccio, the illegitimate son of a Florentine merchant and a French noblewoman, was born in Paris in 1313. He entered his father's business in Florence and later was transferred to Naples. In 1335 he abandoned legal studies and devoted himself to poetry. On March 30, 1331, in the church of S. Lorenzo, Boccaccio saw and loved Maria, the wife of a court noble and the natural daughter of Robert of Anjou, King of Naples. After five years of ardent courtship Maria yielded. In 1331, Boccaccio began *Filocolo*. The title and material are Greek, the earliest extant version is French, the time and the place are pagan Rome; and it tells of the loves of Florio and Biancofiore. "In this story you will not be shown the cruel burning of ancient Troy, nor the bloody battles of Pharsalia; but you will hear of the piteous things which befell the enamoured Florio and his Biancofiore, which I hope you will find very charming." Boccaccio stuffs his tale with mythology and Greek and Roman history, and his characters harangue interminably.

Teseide describes sieges and battles, and possesses all the outer framework of a heroic poem. *Filostrato* is a live page of Neapolitan court history; without honor, religion, or chivalry. Here is Griseida's picture:

Giovane donna e mobile, e vogliosa
e negli amanti molti, e sua bellezza
estima piu ch'allo specchio, a pomposa,
ha vanagloria di sua gioioinezza;

la qual quanto piacevole a vezzosa
e piu, cotanto piu seco l'apprezza;
virtu non sente, ne conoscimento,
volubil sempre come foglia al vento.

A young woman is changeable
and wants to have a number of
lovers, and rates her beauty ever
higher each time she sees it in
her mirror; and she is flaunting
and vainglorious of her youth;
And the more it is pleasing and
seductive the higher she rates it;
One cannot reach to her with virtue
or reasoning; she is ever as fickle as
a leaf blown by the wind.

Dante's Beatrice and Petrarch's Laura have become Boccaccio's fickle, fleshly Griseida. Boccaccio's *Amorosa visione* is a long dream poem in which the poet guided by a lady visits the lovers and homes of by-gone ages. It borrows its construction and mechanism from the Divine Comedy, and the dream ends thus:

Tutto stordito mi riscossi allora
e strinsi a me le braccia, e mi creadea
infra esse madonna avervi ancora.

Quite stupefied I awoke and
pressed my arms against my body, and
it seemed as though my lady were still
in my arms.

Dante invoked the Muses. Boccaccio invokes Venus. The poet holds his woman in his arms; he awakes and his guide says to him:

Cio che porse
il tuo dormire alla tua fantasia
tutto averai

All that they sleep offered to
thy fantasy shalt thou have.

How modern is this picture of Baia, with its amenities and its license.

Intorno ad una fonte, in un pratello
di verdi erbette piebo e di bei fiori
sedeano tre angiolette, i loro amori
forso narrando; ed a viascuna ill bello

viso adombrava un verde ramoscello
che i capei d'or cingea, al qual di fuori
e dentro insieme i dua vaghi colori
avvolgeva un soave venticello,
E dopo alquanto l'una alle due disse,
Com'io udii:—Deh! se per avventura
si ciascuna l'amanta or qui venisse,
fuggiremo noi quindi per paura?—
A cui le due riposer:—Chi fugisse,
poco savia saria con tal ventura.

By a clear well, within a little field
Full of green grass and flowers of every hue,
Sat three young girls, relating (as I knew)
Their loves. And each had twined a bough to shield
Her lovely face; and the green leaves did yield
The golden hair their shadow; while the two
Sweet colours mingled, both blown lightly through
With a soft wind that ever stirred and stills.
After a little while one of them said
(I heard her) "Think! If, ere the next hour struck,
Each of our lovers should come here today,
Think you that we should fly or feel afraid?"
To whom the others answered "From such luck
A girl would be a fool to flee away."

Boccaccio can also write with gravity and vigor, as his sonnet on Dante shows:

Dante Alighieri son, Minerva oscura
d'intelligenza e d'arte, nel cui ingegno
l'eleganza materna aggiunse al segno,
che si tien gran miracol di natura.
L'alta mia fantasia pronta e sicura
passo il tartareo e poi 'l celeste regno
e 'l nobil mio volume feci degno
di temporale e spirital lettura.
Fiorenza gloriosa ebbi per madre,
anze matrigna a me pietoso figlio,
colpa di lingue scellerate e ladre.
Ravenna fummi albergo nel mio esiglio;
ed ella ha il corpo, e l'alma il sommo Padre
presso cui invidia non vince consiglio.

Dante Alighieri, a dark oracle
of wisdom and of art, I am; whose mind

Has to my country such great gifts assigned
 That men account my powers a miracle.
 My lofty fancy passed as low as Hell,
 as high as Heaven, secure and unconfined;
 And in my noble book doth every kind
 of earthy lore and heavenly doctrine dwell;
 Renowned Florence was my mother—nay,
 Stepmother, unto me her piteous son,
 Through sin of cursed slander's tongue and tooth.
 Ravenna sheltered me so cast away;
 My body is with her—my soul with One
 For whom no envy can make dim the truth.

The *Fiammetta* is an intimate history of a human soul in which a girl tells of her love and desertion. The situation is clearly that of Boccaccio's mistress Maria, natural daughter of King Robert of Sicily. Indeed the poem forms the main source of our information about the love affair of the poet and his lady.

The *Corbaccio* is a satire on women, written by a man who has been flouted. In these jealous complaints of the *Corbaccio*, epigrams and grace abound; the dialogue is vivacious and mature. "Dost thou think that I am hood-winked, that I do not know whom thou art running after, whom thou dost love, whom thou art whispering with all the day long? Miserable me! who came here so long ago, yet never once when I have come to bed hast thou said to me, 'My love, thou art welcome.' But I swear by the cross of God that I will do to thee as thou art doing to me. Am I thin? Am I not as handsome as that other woman? But I tell thee this: when a man kisses two mouths, it is right that one of those mouths should spit at him. Move away from me; so help me God, thou shalt not touch me. Go to those women of whom thou art worthy; for certainly, thou art not worthy to have me, and dost show thyself as thou art. But what is to come must come."

Ninfale fiesolano is a piteous tale of love in the Fiesole hills, in which landscapes and family and pastoral scenes are charmingly described. It tells how the nymph sacred to Diana is conquered by human love, and for breaking her vows is changed into a fountain called *Mensola*. The tale is divided into seven cantos, in *ottava rima*. *Ninfale d'Ameto* is a prose romance written in 1341 or 1342, the scene opens at Fiesole. Ameto, the shepherd, listens to the love tales of seven nymphs assembled around the temple of Venus.

Boccaccio's *canzoni*, *sonetti*, *madrigali*, and *ballate* imitate Petrarch and Dante and the *stil nuovo*, but its inspiration is from life and Boccaccio's thought is his own. In the Decameron, Boccaccio said what others were thinking. The title "Decameron" (ten days) is like that of other similar works. The *Libro dei sette savi* must have been well known to Boccaccio. The tales of the Decameron are vital and truly reflect Italian high-life in the middle of the fourteenth century. The world of the Decameron had existed for centuries. Italy was filled with amusing stories and licentious tales, and women read these books to each other in secret. Boccaccio wrote his romances for a woman. Boccaccio takes life as he finds it. It is a world ruled by pleasure and guided by chance. A society of friars and priests, confessions, fasts, visions, and miracles, and stupid and credulous people. The flesh enjoys itself, the spirit pays. Religion is corrupt; and provided men will let the priests do their thinking, they may live as they chose. The priests and friars and peasants and artisans and lowly burghers and small merchants of the Decameron, with their women, are living Tuscans. The name of God is often in their mouths; they speak respectfully of the Church and fast on Friday, because Friday was the day on which our Lord "died that we might live." It is a world of sensation, of flowers without perfume, of lights without illumination.

Boccaccio's Decameron is immortal. It has been widely imitated. But no other writer ever has written similar tales as well as Boccaccio.

CHAPTER XVII

Three Centuries of Change in Italian Civilization

BETWEEN the end of the eleventh and the beginning of the fourteenth century the institutions, customs, architecture, language, and literary, scientific, and artistic genius of the Italian people changed. Towers were built, castles were erected, cities were surrounded by fortified walls. At the city gates were barbicans and drawbridges. In every street, from tower to tower, they fought as from battleships, and in the midst of this turmoil there arose magnificent palaces and the Cathedral, and in Venice the Ducal Palace and in Pavia the *Certosa*. In Tuscany, Romanesque architecture developed early. Pisa constructed its own cathedral, and on the hill of San Miniato Lorenzo began a Florentine basilica. The Baptistry of Florence was called *il bel San Giovanni*. At the close of the heroic period of Cimabue, modern art began with Giotto (1276–1336). At Rome, Florence, and Padua, in Assisi, Naples, and Milan, Giotto's genius dominated the fourteenth century.

Venetian and Florentine art penetrated into Umbria, into Assisi and into the Marches. At Siena painting flourished without the simplicity of Giotto. Venetian miniature painters adorned the hymnals and the liturgical books. While Siena placed the aristocratic forms of Durcio and Simone Martini (d. 1344) in contrast with the popular forms of Giotto, Ambrogio Lorenzetti (1277–1360) and his brother Pietro of Venice displayed their art. In Siena, Arezzo, Assisi, Florence, Pisa, and Massa Maritime, the diffusion of the Venetian style prevailed. Barnabo da Modena accepted it; Lorenzo Monaco (1413–1472) was taught by it. At Florence the traditions of Giotto held during all the fourteenth century. Spinello Aretino (1332–1409) was the forerunner of an art that sought new ideals from the antique. At Florence, in the middle of the fourteenth century, Giovanni da Milano painted. Guariento sought to escape from the rigidity of the Byzantine school, Avanzo and Altichiero created historical scenes and

portrayed noblemen and Tommaso da Modena, painter of the story of Saint Ursula at Treviso, began the new springtime of pictorial art in the north of Italy.

The universities flourished. In the monasteries codexes were studied and the classics were read. The new classicism filled Italy with its fame. Dante had changed from Guelph to Ghibelline. The *patria* was his faith; Petrarch the Guelph accepted hospitality from the Ghibellines of Milan and Pavia. Boccaccio, who was neither Guelph nor Ghibelline, represents that new burgher class which desired a tranquil state, and that the *patria* should not interfere with personal felicity. Haughty, dominating Farinata degli Uberti (d. 1264), Vittor Pisani, the great admiral, Azzone Visconti (1302-1339), the good admiral, Ruggero di Lauria, and imperial Pope Boniface VIII are representative Italians of this period. Each lived for himself.

To the Italy of the bishops and of the communes had succeeded the Italy of the tyrants and of the mercenary soldiers, and after the struggles of the communes for civil and social emancipation there followed a period of exhaustion. The Lombard Leagues founded to combat common enemies ceased to function. Each commune opposed or submitted to its own enemy. Though Italy still had outbursts of anger, it no longer had ideals of independence. The struggle between papacy and Empire, the rancours between the feudal castles and the walled cities, the invasion of Italy by the first French Charles, the political and social effects of the Crusades, all urged Italy to violence.

In North Italy, Gian Galeazzo Visconti (1347-1403) was sole master of Milan in 1385. In 1395 he bought from the Emperor Wenzel the titles of Duke of Milan and Count of Pavia. He died of the plague in 1402. The Gonzagas reigned in Mantua from 1328 until 1708; the house of Este ruled over Ferrara, Modena, and Reggio. In the Roman Campagna the Orsini ruled toward the Tiber and the Colonnas toward Praenest. By the fourteenth century Venice, Genoa, Pisa, and Florence had obtained great power. In 1297 Venice possessed Dalmatia, Negrepont, Candia, and many islands in the Archipelago, but had no territory on the Italian mainland. Genoa and Venice contended for the supremacy in the East. In Florence, Giano della Bella divided all Florentine citizens into twenty companies, all united under the direction of one supreme gonfalonier. Already divided

into Guelphs and Ghibellines, Florence borrowed from Pistoia the terms of "Whites" and "Blacks." Party spirit was so bitter that at times it seemed as if Florence would be destroyed by internal dissension, but in fact Florence never was so prosperous. Her influence was worldwide.

Marseilles, Paris, London, and the Eastern ports borrowed her money; the Sultan admired her florins. She was banker to kings, and European shops circulated her money and sold Florentine manufactures. When the Emperor or some Ghibelline tyrant threatened the commune, Florence could furnish twenty-five thousand armed men. To the wars between Suabians and Angevins, between popes and emperors, succeeded the wars between Genoa and Venice, Pisa and Florence, Modena and Bologna, Piacenza and Milan. The greater cities were rent by internal factions: the Buondelmonti and the Uberti contended at Florence, the Panciatichi and the Cancellieri at Pistoia, the Lambertazzi and the Geremei at Bologna, the Cappelletti and the Montecchi (Capulets and Montagues) at Verona, the Beccaria and the Langosco at Pavia; at Mantua the Bonacolsi and the Gonzaga contended, and the Colonna and the Orsini at Rome; the Fieschi and the Doria fought at Genoa and the Visconti and the Torriani at Milan.

In Florence, Buondelmonte dei Buondelmonti, forgetting his promise to marry a maiden of the Amedei, fell in love with the Donati girl, hence his murder by the Amedei and Uberti and the forty years of blood. The Veronese legend of Romeo and Juliet, of Capulets and Montagues, is immortalized by Shakespeare and Bellini. In Bologna, Imelda del Lambertazzi, a maiden of gentle breeding, was loved by Bonifacio dei Geremei and one day she received him in her room. They were spied upon and surprised. Imelda's brothers stabbed the young Geremei with a poisoned dagger. Imelda sucked the blood from the wound and was poisoned and died. The tragedy had but begun. In the forty days of fighting between the Lambertazzi and the Geremei Bologna was full of dead and wounded, piled upon the ruins of the burning houses. Galeazzo Visconti's attempt to seduce Bianchina Landi started a ferocious war between Milan and Piacenza.

The longest heritage of devastating passions, and the greatest political consequence, began in the Marca Trivigiana towards the last years of the twelfth century. To Ezzelino, Tisolino di Camposam-

piero confided the proposed marriage of his son to Cecilia Ricco, a rich heiress of the fief of Abano. Ezzelino immediately married the heiress to his own son. Tisolino's son dishonored the bride and sent her back to her husband, who drove her away, but retained her dowry of castles and fiefs. Padua and Treviso, Vicenza and Verona, were taken and retaken in the fierce battles between the armies of Romano and Camposampiero. The new generations inherited the hates of the old. After almost a century occurred the last tragedy which surpassed in atrocity all those that had gone before.

Ezzelino III da Romano was the son of that Ezzelino who had married Cecilia Ricco by force. He delighted in blood. He treated women with implacable fury. Against this tyrant so extraordinary, against this enemy of the Church, Pope Alexander IV proclaimed the Crusade. For three years Ezzelino fought ferociously. In the battle of Cassano (September 16, 1259), when he was defeated and taken prisoner, he tore the bandages from his wounds and died, cursing heaven. Another complicated tragedy took place at Naples. Giovanna, Queen of Naples, was beautiful, cultured and lustful, and was loved by young prince Luigi di Taranto. She outlived her second and third husbands and would perhaps have survived Otto of Brunswick, the fourth, if her cousin Carlo di Durazzo had not strangled her and thus ended her life of debauchery and crime. Venice and Savoy were the only two Italian provinces which escaped from this whirlwind of violence.

Towards the end of the twelfth century the election of the Doges had been transferred from the popular assembly to a council of the greatest men (*ottimati*). Then permission was given to the council to elect its own members. And finally, in 1297, the Doge Gradenigo accomplished the *Serrata del Gran Consiglio*, limiting the right of sitting therein to the descendants of those families already represented in it. This aristocratic revolution in the Venetian government created the terrible tribunal of the *Dieci* (Ten), which was political and not personal. Gradenigo was a statesman who sought to change the constitution of the State.

In Rome, Nicolas Gabrini, known as Cola di Rienzo, the son of a Roman tavernkeeper, admired Petrarch and was versed in ancient history. On the steps of the capitol he reminded the Roman people of the glory of their fathers and pointed to the glories of ancient Rome. He proposed to make a new Rome, modeled after the "Good

State." Proclaimed Tribune for the establishment of the *buono stato* on May 19, 1347, he instituted a prompt and impartial justice, restrained the refractory nobles, and hung brigands. He established public granaries and charities for the poor, and for widows and orphans. Peace had at last come to Rome. Tuscany and Romagna applauded Rienzo's course, some Lombard princes received his deputies, and the "Holy Roman Republic" proclaimed the freedom of all Italian cities. Arrayed in the garments of imperial Rome, consecrated as a knight of the Christian Cross, Rienzo indicated the four points of the compass and cried, "All this belongs to me, and even more than this"; but the people tired of the poet-dreamer-tribune, and Rienzo perished.

For more than two hundred years the history of Italy was dominated, corrupted, poisoned, by the conflict between Guelph and Ghibelline. How and when and why the names Guelph and Ghibelline were first applied to Italian discords is not clear. Apparently they came from Germany, where, in the castle of Weiblingen, was born Corrado il Salico (the Salic) ancestor of the Suabian emperors, while the Bavarian Welfs disputed the imperial crown with Frederic II. Perhaps that Germanic quarrel was brought into Italy by Frederic II. Whatever may have been the cause, these disputes always had a Guelph or a Ghibelline character. In Italy the fundamental difference was between the pontifical Guelphs and the imperial Ghibellines.

In the fourteenth century the Roman Church claimed infallibility in all matters of dogma. Denial of universals was a sin against the Holy Ghost. Theology and philosophy were dangerous sciences. In 1270 Etienne Tempier, Bishop of Paris, condemned the Averrhoist theory of the universe, but Averrhoist tenets were accepted in the universities of Padua and Bologna. Occasionally some new dogma would be inscribed among the eternal verities. Are the souls of the blessed wafted at once to heaven, or must they await the resurrection and the day of Judgment? Thomas Aquinas argues that question. Friburg, the Dominican, declares that the Blessed are immediately admitted to the Beatific Vision. The University of Paris on January 3, 1333, affirmed the truth of the Beatific Vision. King Philippe wrote to Pope John that to deny the Beatific Vision would destroy belief in the intercession of the Virgin and saints, and invalidate all the pardons and indulgences granted by the Church, and that he would

burn all who denied it, including the Pope. Pope John yielded, and when Benedict XII was elected, in a public consistory he directed that anyone denying that the saints enjoy the Beatific Vision should be punished as heretics. Thus a new dogma was adopted by the Church. On November 12, 1323, a papal bull declared that to assert that Christ and the apostles possessed no property was a perversion of Scripture. Thus believers in the holiness of poverty were delivered to the Inquisition and to Satan. The poverty of Christ became a question of European politics. In the spring of 1326, Louis of Bavaria invaded Italy, entered Rome, and deposed the Pope for his denial of the poverty of Christ.

The Church was governed by Canon Law, whose sources include the Old and New Testaments, the quasi-apostolic and pseudo-apostolic writings, primitive Christian traditions, the writings of the Fathers, long accepted ecclesiastical customs, the "Decretals" of the popes and the "Decrees of Councils," including Gratian's *Decretum de jure naturae et constitutionis* which is preserved in the codification completed by Gregory IX in 1234. In 1298 Boniface VIII promulgated a supplementary book known as the "Sectus of Boniface." This, and the "Clementinae" of Clement V (1313) and the "Extravagantes" of John XXII, and certain other popes, constitute the last portions of the *Corpus juris canonici*.

The Emperor's authority extended over the Church, its doctrine, its discipline, and its property. Such authority was exercised by the emperors from Constantine to Justinian. But always there had been those in the Church who declared that it was better to obey God than the Emperor. As the Church recovered from its tenth century disintegration, it advanced to the pragmatic demonstration of the validity of the false Decretals, on through the Hildebrand tempests, to the final triumph of Innocent III at the opening of the thirteenth century.

"The Lord entrusted to Peter not only the Universal Church, but the government of the whole world," writes Innocent III. God founded the Church, Christ is its head, and his vicegerent is Peter or the Pope. Secular rulers wield the secular sword at the Pope's command. In direct contradiction of this theory, partisans of the State upheld coordination as the true principle. *Sacerdotium and Imperium*. The Roman *imperium mundi* by divine appointment passed over to the Roman-German Emperor. Mediaeval political theory in-

sisted that as God was the true monarch of the universe, the Emperor represented divine authority. The Roman law, the *jus civile*, were laws announced at specific times to meet definite exigencies. Roman jurisprudence was finally incorporated in Justinian's *Digest*. The fourteenth century Roman church was not only infallible, it was omnipotent.

Boniface VIII (1295-1303) in his bull *Unam sanctam* declared: "To the Church belong the two swords, spiritual and temporal, the latter working for the Church, the former through the Church; the one controlled by the priesthood, the other by the kings and barons, but following the will and waiting the permission of the priesthood; the temporal sword must be ruled by the spiritual sword, and temporal authority must yield to spiritual power." In the year 1300 Boniface VIII, at the great jubilee, appeared invested with the imperial robes and preceded by the two swords.

Urban V, the Benedictine Guillaume Grimoard (1362-1370), was the last Pope to reside in Avignon, and when St. Catherine of Siena urged Gregory XI (Pierre Roger de Beaufort, 1370-1378) to return to Rome, the churches were in ruins, sheep nibbled the grass of the pavements of St. Peter's and the Lateran, mediaeval Rome lay in ruins and the Rome of antiquity was destroyed. Pagan temples and theatre were a quarry and a limekiln, the clans of the Colonna and Orsini terrorized the city. On March 27, 1378, Gregory XI died at Anagni, and the Roman populace clamored for a Roman Pope. Bartolommeo Prignano, Archbishop of Bari, was a Neapolitan peasant, short, squat, coarse, savage. For six months his title as Urban VI was undisputed. He was zealous for reform, passionate against simony, pure in his life, resolute. On the 18th of September 1379, Urban created twenty-eight Italian cardinals. Two days later at a great ceremony in the church at Fondi, the French Cardinals announced that the Frenchman, Robert of Geneva, had been elected in succession to Gregory. This Clement VII, the first Antipope of the Great Schism, was thirty-six years old, was tall, commanding, handsome, and the idol of the cardinals. There were now two popes and the Great Schism of the West began. England, Germany, Hungary, Bohemia, Holland, and most of Italy accepted Urban; France, Spain, Scotland, Savoy, and Lorraine supported Clement VII.

CHAPTER XVIII

Political and Social History of the Fifteenth Century

THE fifteenth century was a transitional century. It marked the passage from authority to investigation, from barbarism to culture, from scholasticism to classicism, from the commune and the crowd to the State and the Individual, from St. Thomas, Dante, and Giotto to Machiavelli, Aretino, and da Vinci, from the Middle Ages to Modern Times. The moral world also changed. Society forgot God. The family dissolved; the bastards ruled. In 1480 Rome had 6,800 prostitutes and a little later Venice had 11,650. The Church of the Middle Ages considered woman a devil. "All women are mad and full of vermin," said Alberti. The fifteenth century emancipated woman. She said things and gave counsel; she was a personage.

The Church "Catholic, Apostolic and Roman" began in paganism and conserved paganism. "Christianism," wrote Pope Pius II to the Sultan, "is only a new and more complete lesson of the highest good of the ancients." In the fifteenth century religious processions, expiatory sacrifices and ritual and ordinances were social habits. The Church was a government, and, like other governments, the Roman Church employed assassins, and repressed every real religious movement. The pontifical tiara was sold, vice was sold, theft and assassination had a price, killing two daughters cost 800 ducats, adultery cost 150 ducats. Of Pope Alexander VI (Rodrigo Borgia, 1492-1503), Pontano writes, "He has sold the keys and the altars and Christ, he bought them." Valla (1407-1457) writes, "There is no more religion, no more sanctity, no more fear of God, and the impious ones excuse all their crimes because of the example of the Pope."

Dissolute princes go to church, where assassins await them. Scholars and poets find Jesus in Virgil, and God in Plato, but they continue to pray. In 1400 Italy abounded in criminals, assassins, and brigands, yet was covered with penitents chanting litanies. There were four thousand penitents at Pistoia, forty thousand at Florence; at Venice

and Rome countless numbers—men, women and children—an army who march. In Ferrara, Duke Hercules headed the movement. In 1487 the council of Siena decided that the city should be dedicated to *Notre Dame* (Our Lady); Savonarola's Florence elected the Lord Jesus for its prince. The common people sang the lauds of Jacopone Todi, of Bianco di Siena, of Ugo Panziera de Prato, the lauds of the *duecento* and the *trecento*. The hour is sad, the night is coming. But for the knight there was the palace, the chase, the spectacle, life. Old Niccolo d'Este had "more than eight hundred ladies for his pleasure." Sentiments were gentle, appetites were enormous; one remained at the table for eight hours. Passions were savage, crimes constant. The palace dungeons were filled, tortures were applied, eyes torn out; horses whipped by boys tore the victim apart, and the remains rotted in the sun. Yet the comedies of Plautus and Terence were given and five thousand people applauded.

This *quattrocento* is the age of the Great Schism and of the Condottieri; of conflict between Italian and Latin. Its second period is that of confederation and equilibrium, and of the classic revival in literature. The resurgent Italian was pagan and Roman, and boasted the return to antiquity. Italian literature flourished at the court of Naples with pomp of learning and sensuality, at the court of Ferrara with lordly and chivalric traditions; and Florence, in a still barbarous Europe, held up a new light of civilization. At the same time there was complete moral disintegration in Italy. Popes celebrated obscene ceremonies, many priests and nuns were unchaste, many convents were lupanars. The Church sold its indulgences; the husband sold his wife. Poison and dagger, assassination and the "abominable sin," flourished.

Yet this was the Italy of the Crusades. One which had produced Arnaldo of Brescia, the Lombard League, the Great Schism, the Inquisition, the universities; St. Thomas Aquinas, the Medici, the *trovatori*; the *dolce stil nuovo*, Langobard legends, and Carolingian epopee. The Italy of Charles of Anjou, the Sicilian Vespers, the "Magna Curia," and the Aulic lyrics; of Norman civilization and of the great Frederick; of the revival of Aristotelian philosophy, and of religious and moral poetry composed in Latin. It was the century of the precursors of humanism and Latin culture in Italy, of Greek scholars from Constantinople and of the invention of printing. It was a century which looked backward toward a vanishing Roman

civilization and Latin literature; yet forward, gazing into luminous horizons. It expressed Renaissance ideas and ideals in Italian vernacular, and established civic liberty in the communes, and invaded the universities.

In Italian *quattrocento*, the spiritual, moral, and political world was Janus-faced. Old and new conflict; spirit and flesh contend; violence and immorality contrast with the preaching that Christ is King of Florence, with the *Cantica del Sole*, and with the rapturous emotion of mystic and ascetic. New ideals blazed, decrepit feudalism crumbled, and chivalry, however romantic in fiction, in real life oppressed women. *Quattrocento* art permeated all social life. The comedies of Plautus and Terence were presented with gorgeous scenery, with arches and triumphs, and every public ceremonial was an art festival. Art guided man from the beautifully ornamented cradle until he slept 'neath elaborate sepulchral arches.

At Florence, Fra Giovanni da Fiesole, the "Blessed Angelico," painted diaphanous angels, *veramente di Paradiso*; Fra Filippo Lippi gave substance to these forms; Sandro Botticelli made Art a canticle of spring, redolent of jessamine and roses. The Tuscan school crowned the century. Michelangelo painted prophets and sibyls, carved his David and the Moses that terrified and thundered; and restless Leonardo da Vinci found matter inadequate to depict the soul of things. In the Marshes and in Umbria, *quattrocento* painting presented sacred and allegorical subjects. After Perugino's graceful figures came Raphael's incomparable Florentine figures. His pupils placed his "transfiguration" on his dying bed; the *gentilissimo* Raffaello d'Urbino. Correggio painted rubies, sapphires, and amethysts; the blush of the rose, the colors of the rainbow; diaphanous shadows. His "Danae" distills gold from the autumn landscape; "Leda" is an aureole of golden hair; "Antiope" sleeps in a cloud of love. "Io" is poised in space, and zephyrs toy with "Ganymede's" golden locks.

Venetian painting lived in Gentile da Fabriano, Pisanello, and the school of Squarcione (1394-1474) of Lombardy. Mantua witnessed Mantegna's fame (1431-1506), as expressed in his "Triumph of Caesar."

Giorgione (Giorgio Barbarelli, 1478-1511) like a splendid knight in gleaming armor passed through life rapidly. Born in 1477, he died at the age of thirty-three. Tiziano Vecellio (1477-1576) bathed his canvases in sunlight, and gave immortality to the doges Carlo V

and Filippo II, to the Medici, the Gonzaga, the Estensi, the Farnesi, and Aretino. The portrait of his daughter Lavinia still testifies to her father's love and pride. When Tiziano died the splendor of the Venetian Republic was dimmed. Donatello, the Florentine (Donato di Niccolo di Betto Bardi, 1386-1466), translated the whole of man into marble and bronze. In a niche of Or San Michele he placed St. George; in the Campanile, rugged wrathful prophets, sculptured lads dancing dissolutely, and the bust of Niccola da Uzzano. In his sacred history of Padua, in the drama of the close of Christ's life, in the parchments of San Lorenzo di Firenze, always there is life. Andrea di Cione, called Il Verrocchio (1435-1488), rendered Condottiero Bartolomeo Colleoni (1400-1475) immortal. Michelangelo (Buonarroti, 1475-1564) was the summit of Italian art. The soul of Michelangelo shadows human sorrow; the sorrow of the universe.

To epitomize in a paragraph: the fifteenth century stood midway between the Middle Ages and the modern age. Old traditions failed, old institutions crumbled, scholasticism yielded to philosophy, authority bowed to reason. Natural science experimented; Columbus discovered America; printing became an Italian trade; classical learning was diffused; political science was born; the art of war was created; chronicles yielded to histories; ancient culture revived. Chivalry arrived; Brunelleschi recreated architecture; Donatello restored sculpture; Masaccio and the Tuscan and Umbrian painters prepared the way for Raphael and Michelangelo. It was splendid, this new Italian culture. And yet, everywhere liberty disappeared, tyrants oppressed, the domestic hearth was profaned, Italian good faith became a byword, Italy was pagan and Italy was rotten.

The Middle Ages were ignorant of the State; they divided government into fiefs and sub-fiefs, into great and little communes, into papacy and empire. The Middle Age was the age of association and castes. Every individual was absorbed in his caste. Each caste possessed a community of interests. Before the fifteenth century the creators of Italian institutions, letters, and arts were Guelphs and Ghibellines; associations or parties, never individuals. With the fifteenth century all this slowly vanished. Outside of Italy great nations were forming, but in Italy empire authority became a memory. The pontiffs were sovereigns. The communes refused foreign masters. The Renaissance citizen was isolated, dependent on himself. Banishment either breaks the exile or develops him. And an exiled humanist

writes, "Wherever a learned man fixes his seat, there is home." The fifteenth century man tried to write, to think, to feel, as the ancients wrote, thought, and felt.

Literary centers and academies were being formed in all the principal cities. Naples had its *Pontaniana*, Florence the *Accademia Platonica*, and Rome its Pomponio Leto and Platina academies. To the *litterati* came fame, honors, and money. Literature was expressed in Latin verses and was without veils. Pain is elegiac, pleasure is idyllic, life is superficial. Yet this age possessed an ideal that freed humanity from shackles, emancipated personality, and discovered man and his world. The Renaissance attempted to return to the past, to revive ancient learning. Actually the Renaissance began modern thought.

Italian humanism gave the critical spirit to science and the rules of antiquity to the schools. Literature became the expression of an intellectual aristocracy. Let the "common people tell their stories, their fables, in uncouth dialect, and live in their manure; they do not exist." The humanists were the mandarins; the people were the coolies. The humanists said, "We and Cicero." They carried their own pen-name and they worked for glory. The century resounded with their quarrels; their invectives were as ingenuous as was the sonority of their pride.

The humanists centered and supported the universe. The humanists shut their eyes, closed their ears. They lived in antiquity as in a church. They pronounced resounding discourse, they arranged delicate verse, they translated Greek into Latin. Their home was the republic-of-letters. They sang of women who never had existed; they praised obscenities which they had not committed. Reality and literature had nothing in common; Guarino says, "Life is one thing; and literature is another." Why should Italian poetry and prose concern itself with mundane actualities, passions, and affections? A return to antiquity was the true road to progress.

Princes and citizens promoted and participated in the revival of studies. Filippo Maria Visconti, Alfonso and Ferdinand I of Aragon, Federico Duke of Urbino, Leonello, Borso, and Ercole I d'Este, and the Gonzaga employed copyists, searched for manuscripts, and collected libraries. The Florentine Medici created a museum of statues, vases, medals, ancient cameos, and a library which constituted the foundation of the Laurentian. The humanist Tommaso Parentucelli of Sarzana became Pope Nicholas V (1447-1455), and

learned Enea Silvio de' Piccolomini was Pope Pius II (1458-1464). Piccolomini's many works on varied subjects reflect wide erudition. Constant attention was paid to the Vatican library by Sixtus IV (Franc. della Rovere, 1471-1484), who decorated its walls with magnificent paintings and opened it to public use.

The Greek language and Greek spirit never disappeared from Italy. In the Middle Ages certain southern provinces talked Greek. Merchants employed it in Levantine commerce; some monks remembered it. But the true humanists ignored this spoken Greek because it was used by shop people. Manuel Chrysoloras of Byzantium was noble, possessed with learning. When he settled in Florence in January 1397 and became the first Grecian professor in an Italian university, intellectual Florence shivered voluptuously. Italian scholars faced poverty and exile and long voyages when searching for Greek manuscripts. Guarino lived five years at Byzantium. Aurispa, remaining there from 1421 to 1423, sold his clothes in order to buy books; "for the books I have expended every labour, given all my money, and many times while in Byzantium I have traded clothes for manuscripts; for which I am not ashamed."

Francesco Filelfo of Tolentino studied at Byzantium from 1420 to 1427, married the daughter of Chrysoloras, wore a long beard, and passed for an oriental. He returned from Constantinople with many manuscripts. Proud, active, inflated, Filelfo taught in the Florentine Studio and hated the Medici. He considered himself a dispenser of immortality. On the 18th of June 1459 he wrote to Cardinal Bessarion, "Being now free from fever, I can fulfill my duty towards yourself and the Holy Father [Pius II], namely, that of writing verses in exchange for coin." Woe to him who did not pay. All paid, because all feared his verse. After hearing him read his "Satires," Nicholas V paid him five hundred golden ducats and commissioned him to make a translation of Homer. Nevertheless Filelfo thought himself badly treated by Rome.

Within less than forty years Greek had become almost a Florentine language, and the city had no need of foreign masters. "In Florence," wrote Poliziano, "the children of the nobility speak the Greek idiom so purely and so easily that one could believe that Athens had emigrated to Florence. And then, in 1439, came the "Council of Union." This was the first Ecumenical Council since that held in 869. It was on the 16th day of February 1439 that the Emperor John Paleologue

made his splendid entry into Florence. In the church of Santa Maria Novella were thrones for the Pope and for the Greek Emperor. Thanks to this contact, on the 6th of July 1439 with august ceremony the "Union" was proclaimed in the cathedral of Florence. In 1470 at Florence, Poliziano's (Ambrogini, 1454-1494) translation of the *Iliad* appeared, and in 1477 the translation of Plato. In 1476 Milan printed the first Greek book. Venice, Rimini, and Mantua composed Greek verses; and Greek was studied and spoken in every university and at every princely court.

Scholars corresponded in Greek, composed Greek epigrams, and pronounced Greek orations. In 1500 in Venice, a learned academy was founded, whose members agreed to converse only in Greek. With Pope Nicholas V (1447-1455) the Renaissance spirit appeared on the papal throne. Pope Pius II (Enea Silvio de' Piccolomini, 1458-1464) described the Roman remains in the Roman Campagna. The palaces of nobles and cardinals overflowed with ancient statues and fragments. With the fifteenth century began the systematic creation of libraries, and the multiplication of translations from the Greek. Pope Nicholas left five thousand volumes, the foundation of the Vatican library. Niccolo Niccoli spent his entire fortune on books. He completed the Ammianus Marcellinus, the *De Oratore* of Cicero, and the most authoritative text of Lucretius. He persuaded Cosimo to buy a Pliny manuscript. He lent his books freely and opened his home to students. His collection of eight hundred volumes is now the jewel of the Laurentian Library. Among the abbeys of South Germany, Poggio discovered six orations of Cicero and the first complete Quintilian. He unearthed the last twelve comedies of Plautus, as well as the Verrine orations, the *Brutus* and the *De Oratore* of Cicero.

Cardinal Bessarion collected five hundred manuscripts. The library of Urbino, now in the Vatican, was the work of the great Federico of Montefeltro (pp. 65 *sqq.*) who kept thirty *scrittori* employed. The supremacy of Greek culture lasted in Lower Italy till the Saracen conquest, particularly among the Jews. Jewish learning centered in Rome, and from there spread to Cordova, Kairowan, and South Germany. Among the secular princes of the fifteenth century none displayed greater enthusiasm for antiquity than Alfonso the Great of Aragon, King of Naples. Federico of Urbino surpassed Alfonso in learning. An accomplished ruler, captain, gentleman, and student, he read Scotus and Aquinas, was familiar with the Greek and Latin

fathers, and the Ethics and Politics and Physics of Aristotle. "Always he was reading and having read to him." Life and manners at the court of Rimini must have been a singular spectacle under that bold pagan *condottiere* Prince Sigismondo Malatesta. Pope Pius II, the man who excommunicated him and burnt him in effigy, said, "Sigismondo knew history and had a great store of philosophy; he seemed born to accomplish all that he undertook." From the time of Nicolò V and Pio II, the papal chancery attracted the ablest men.

Eloquence was indispensable in public life. Ambassadors were called orators. Princes discoursed long and learnedly in Latin or Italian. Funeral orations and speeches at weddings or betrothals were usually entrusted to humanist orators. Many elements united in the scepticism of the the Italian Renaissance. Impurity of life, hypocrisy, reaction against dogmatic credulity and sacerdotalism, the intimate relation between Arabic philosophy and the Italian humanists—all prompted scepticism. Averroes influenced Italian thought enormously. Averroism is a pantheistic, idealistic negation; without God, creation, miracles, or revelation. In the Italian universities science and philosophy had displaced theology; reason frowned on faith.

Pietro Pomponazzi's (1462–1525) doctrine that moral truth is immutable, that the universe is governed by unchanging laws, is the cornerstone of modern physical science. He taught that virtue is its own reward; that men should do right because it is right, irrespective of reward or punishment in heaven or hell. Pomponazzi is, perhaps, the leading sceptic of the Italian Renaissance. Born in Mantua in 1462, he taught in the universities of Padua and Bologna and died in 1512. His great work *De immortalitate animi* was publicly burned in Venice; and Pomponazzi almost followed it in the flames. Insisting that the soul of man must perish with the body, he nevertheless asserted that as a Christian he accepted the Church's teaching as to immortality, though as a philosopher he denied it.

The ethical consequences of Pomponazzi's denial of the immortality of the soul are important. If sin is not to be punished or virtue to be rewarded in a future existence, then death is unimportant. The human conscience is the sole guide as to right and wrong; the punishment of vice is in being vicious; and the reward of virtue is in being virtuous. This doctrine of the "twofold truth"—that it is possible for a Christian to accept the intellectual and religious chains of the Church and yet, as a philosopher, absolutely to deny those teachings

—is one of those curious contradictions of humanistic thought which not only fostered intellectual dishonesty but condoned social immorality. For what a man thinketh in his heart is bound to manifest itself in his way of living.

Many books have been written about this immorality of humanistic social life and many more books about the corruption of the Roman Catholic Church in this fifteenth century. What are the facts?

Is it true that humanism fostered frailty, that the revival of letters brought spiritual deterioration, that moral turpitude increased with the increase of culture? In justice to this fifteenth century we must remember that the immediately preceding age also was corrupt, and that the succeeding age of the Catholic reaction was hypocritical. The Renaissance disease however was different. Immersed in the putrescence of the Church of Rome and the political corruption, humanistic literature made vice a fine art, and filthy speech became a branch of rhetoric; Venice was the cesspool of Europe. In Milan at the court of Lodovico Sforza (*il Moro*) fathers sold their daughters, and husbands their wives. Everywhere simony corroded the Church.

Boniface IX (Pietro Tomacelli, 1404) deposed prelates, and sold the vacated places to the highest bidder. Poggio (1380–1459), papal secretary for forty years, described the applicants as idle, ignorant, sordid men; Nicholas de Clemanges said all episcopal ministration, confession, absolution, and dispensations were sold. Priests alternated between the altar and the harlot. Monks avoided chastity, poverty, and obedience. Gianfrancesco Pico della Mirandola wrote the Pope that the nuns were prostitutes, that the priesthood was bought, that justice and piety were regarded as superstition, and that the revenues of the Church ministered to foul excess. Abbot Trithemius declared that the Benedictine monasteries were stables for clerks, or fortresses for fighting, or markets for traders, or brothels for strumpets.

Petrarch described Avignon and the papal court as the sink of all iniquity. St. Brigitta conveyed to Gregory XI (1370–1378) this message from the Lord: "Hear, O Gregory XI, the words I say to thee, and give unto them diligent attention! Why dost thou hate me so? Why are thy audacity and presumption so great against me that thy worldly court destroys my heavenly one? Proudly thou despoilest me of my sheep. Why in thy court dost thou suffer unchecked the foulest pride, insatiable avarice, wantonness execrable to me, and all devouring simony? Moreover thou dost seize and carry away from me in-

numerable souls, for well-nigh all who go to thy court thou plungest into the fire of hell. Verily thou wilt be condemned and every devil of hell will have a morsel of thy soul, immortal and inconsumable." Reform was skillfully eluded at the Council of Siena in 1424. At Basle it fared no better. In 1435 the Bishop of Minorca addressed to the Cardinal-legate Cesarini an exhortation in which he said, "Evil, sins and scandals have so increased, especially among the clergy, that lying and theft, and adultery and simony, and murder and many other crimes have deluged the earth."

During the fifteenth century Rome was ravaged by war, pestilence, and famine. Grandeur and misery, luxury and barbarism, culture and grossness, mingled. The popes were surrounded by ruins; brigands controlled the city, the streets were sewers, vines covered the marbles, cattle pastured under Augustus' mausoleum, wolves roamed the Vatican gardens, the country invaded the city, the Campagna was deserted, the nobles in their castles were brigands, and the chief Roman perils were prostitutes and priests. The Roman ecclesiastical State was abnormal. The popes were aged men, in a turbulent city. The power of the nobles was enormous. The Orsini, the Colonna, the Prefetti di Vico, the Savelli, and Anguillara were sovereign rulers with immense domains, who defied the papacy and despised the commune.

The Council of Constance deposed three popes and elected Oddo Colonna (Martin V). At last there was government in Rome. It was possible to walk through the city and even into the Campagna, without being assassinated. Pope Eugenius IV (1431-1447) was driven out of Rome by the Colonna. From Florence, he sent the patriarch, afterwards Cardinal Vitelleschi, to Rome, who waged a war of extermination. Castles and cities were destroyed, and their stricken inhabitants scattered over the Campagna. Then in 1444, Eugenius IV returned to Rome and died three years afterwards.

Calisto III (Alfonso Borgia, 1455-1458), his successor, was a Spaniard, seventy-seven years of age, and he loaded his nephews with honors, land, and gold. Scholarly Aeneas Silvius Piccolomini of Siena as Pope bore the name of Pius II (1458-1464). His reign had splendor, but nothing durable remained behind him. Paul II (Pietro Barbo, 1464-1471), consecrated on the 16th of September 1464, possessed some merit. He rewarded justice, punished the bravos. Sixtus IV (1471-1484), a violent and unscrupulous Genoese friar, was a

despot, mad for the advancement of his "nephews." He sold offices, benefices, and indulgences. He hatched the Pazzi conspiracy, excommunicated and attacked Florence. The boys serving his lusts were rewarded with bishoprics. Sixtus' death caused paeans of joy. In the succeeding Conclave, Cardinals Giovanni d'Aragona, son of King Ferrante, and Ascanio Sforza, brother of Lodovico, shamelessly sold their votes.

Cardinal Cibo purchased the Papal Chair and was proclaimed Pope under the name of Innocent VIII (1484-1492). He joined the conspiracy of the Neapolitan barons, promising men, arms, money, and the arrival of a new Angevin pretender. Lorenzo the Magnificent married his daughter Maddalena to Franceschetto Cibo, the son of Pope Innocent VIII (1484-1492). Lorenzo expected favors for his own son, Cardinal Giovanni, and also the rapid promotion of his son-in-law. Rome swarmed with assassins. Travelers and pilgrims and diplomatic envoys were stripped to their shirts near the gates of Rome.

Every morning corpses were found in the Roman streets. Rich malefactors obtained safe conducts; those who could not pay were hung. Every crime had its price. The houses of the cardinals were crammed with weapons, and sheltered assassins. Dagger and poison worked everywhere and Rome was the headquarters of crime. Meanwhile, Innocent VIII frolicked and feasted, boasted of his children, and celebrated their weddings. The town stank with the daily life of the Pope's sons, and bloody corpses floated in the Tiber.

There was no place in Rome for a virtuous woman. In 1490, besides licentious wives and maidens, private courtesans and immoral convents, Rome reported 6,800 public prostitutes. "The Pope rises from the bed of harlots, to unlock the gates of Heaven and Purgatory, and returns to his sty. As chief actor in the comedy of Priapus and Aphrodite, he worshipped Mary and Venus." July 25, 1492, Innocent VIII died. On the 6th of August the Papal Conclave met for the selection of a new Pope, and Cardinal Rodrigo Borgia's cash and promises secured his election as Pope Alexander VI. He lusted for women and loved his children. Giovanna, or Vannozza (de Catania), born in 1442, was his mistress and the mother of Giovanni, Duke of Gandia (b. 1474), Cesare, Duke of Valentino (b. 1476), Lucrezia (b. 1480), Goffredo or Giuffrè (b. 1481 or 1482); and Pope Borgia openly acknowledged them as his children. Orsino Orsini's wife, the "Beautiful

Giulia," was barely fifteen when Cardinal Borgia, the future Pope, became her lover.

In 1493 Pope Alexander's daughter, Lucrezia Borgia, *virgo incorrupta aetatis, jam nubilis existens*, was married to Giovanni Sforza, lord of Pesaro. The bride's dowry was 31,000 ducats, and the Pope gave a supper. They passed the night at the Vatican in dancing, acting plays, and singing, and all received rich presents from the Pope. Infessura refused to repeat the gossip about that supper "because it was either not true or, if true, incredible." Sometimes the Pope paraded among his women in Spanish dress, with high boots, a dagger, and an elegant velvet cap. On the night of the 14th of June 1497, Pope Alexander's son, Giovanni the Duke of Gandia, supped with his brother the Cardinal of Valencia, at the house of their mother Vannozza. They rode away together, but presently separated. Giovanni was found in the river Tiber with his boots, spurs, and mantle still on. His hands were tied, he had nine wounds. The corpse was solemnly interred in the church of Sta. Maria del Popolo.

The Pope refused food, and his cries of grief could be heard from afar. Men said that the two brothers had disputed with their father, for the favors of their sister Lucrezia. Meanwhile Alexander VI separated his daughter Lucrezia from her husband, Giovanni Sforza, the lord of Pesaro, and on the 29th of June 1498 Don Alfonso, a youth of seventeen, natural son of the King of Naples, was married to Lucrezia Borgia. "The Pope," wrote the Venetian ambassador, "sat up till morning at the feast, behaving like a young man." As soon as Caesar Borgia threw aside his Cardinal's frock he was sent to France with a Bull of divorce for Louis XII, who wished to marry the widow of Charles VIII who brought him Brittany as her dower. Caesar Borgia, having gained the Duchy of Valentinois and a hundred French spearmen, espoused Carlotta, sister of Jean d'Albert, King of Navarre, and related to Louis XII. On the evening of the 15th of July 1500, the Duke of Bisceglia, Lucrezia's husband, coming down the steps of St. Peter's was suddenly attacked and wounded by assassins; when Caesar Borgia found that the Duke was likely to recover, he had him strangled.

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CHAPTER XIX

Italian Tyrants

IN EARLIER days Italian wars were fought by light-armed citizen foot-soldiers; every spring these merchants and artisans buckled on their breastplates, marched out and attacked baronial castles and neighboring lands, and then returned to their shops. But now a new kind of army appeared, professional soldiers clad in armor, with lances of enormous length; against them the light-armed citizens were helpless. These professional armies depended on the valor and military genius of their leader.

Muzio Attendolo Sforza, High Constable of the kingdom of Naples and the most terrible captain of his time, had been a stableboy. His natural son Francesco became Duke of Milan. Carmagnola, commander of the Venetian armies, began life as a herdsman. Niccolò Piccinini started as a Perugia butcher. *Condottieri* founded their own dynasties and became rulers and tyrants through might. Courage, military ability, a reprobate conscience, knowledge of men, and control of personal passions were necessary to the successful tyrant-ruler.

Many among them won the devotion of their followers. Francesco Sforza (1401–1466) was called the common father of the men-at-arms. Milan became the center of a group of republics and lordships ruled by the Ghibelline family of the Visconti. In 1378 the cruel and dissolute Barnabo (1319–1385) and his children were first imprisoned and then murdered by Giovanni Galeazzo, his nephew (1347–1402), who despoiled the petty Lombard tyrants. For one hundred thousand florins he bought from the German Emperor the investiture of the Duchy of Milan (1393), seized Genoa, Bologna and Tuscany, and expected the crown of Italy, but died of the plague on the 3rd of December 1402. Galeazzo's son Filippo Maria (1391–1447), the last of the Milanese Visconti, secluded himself in the citadel of Milan and was surrounded by his spies. By coupling honest men with knaves, he encouraged jealousy and suspicion among his *condottieri* and officials.

When Filippo Maria's son-in-law and successor, Duke Francesco Sforza (1401–1466), came to the congress at Mantua (1459) he was

fifty-eight years old, an imposing figure, calm and affable in conversation, princely in bearing, unconquered in battle, and was the first captain of his time. In 1441 Filippo gave his daughter Bianca in marriage to Francesco, yet always he distrusted him. When Filippo Maria Visconti died, Milan proclaimed itself a Republic and its subject cities declared themselves free. Francesco Sforza repressed the rebellion and made his triumphal entry into Milan on the 25th of March 1450. Celebrated in prose and verse as the just, the great, the magnanimous, Francesco Sforza died on the 8th of March 1466. His contemporaries believed him the greatest man of the age. Yet both the Visconti and the Sforza failed to found real dynasties. Sforza's cruel son Galeazzo Maria poisoned his mother, buried some of his subjects alive, and only spared those who could redeem their lives with gold.

In the heart of old Ferrara stands the Castello of the Este. Here romance and chivalry lived, tournaments and pageants adorned those dusky red-brick walls and crenellated towers. Behind the sleepy waters of the ancient moat, Boiardo's and Ariosto's song lingered in the spacious courts and broad piazzas. Duke Ercole I, eldest legitimate son of Niccolo, entered peacefully upon his heritage and married Leonora of Aragon, daughter of Ferrante, King of Naples. Under Ercole, the broad streets and spacious squares, the imposing monuments and palaces of Ferrara were renowned. Belriguardo, twelve miles from the city, was one of the most sumptuous palaces of Europe. There Latin comedies were performed and Italian dramas were spoken for the first time upon any stage.

On the 18th of May 1474 Leonora's daughter Isabella was born. "On the 29th of June 1475 another daughter was born this day to Duke Ercole, and received the name of Beatrice, being the child of Madonna Leonora his wife. And there was no rejoicing, because every one wished for a boy" (Muratori). A son, born to the Duke and Duchess on the 21st day of July 1476, was named Alfonso, after his grandfather, the great King of Naples. A year later Leonora and her two little daughters spent four months in Naples. When the Duchess returned to Ferrara, she left her baby son at Naples, together with his little sister Beatrice, who for the next eight years remained there in the royal palace, and there she met and was betrothed to Lodovico Sforza, Duke of Bari, and when fifteen years old married him. He was thirty-nine years old, ruled Milan with an iron hand, and was the

most powerful prince in Italy. But Lodovico had a mistress Cecilia Gallerani, who also lived in the Castello, and on the 3rd day of May gave birth to a son, named Cesare, whom Lodovico acknowledged as his own son. In July Cecilia married Lodovico's most loyal subject Count Lodovico Bergamini of Cremona. Cecilia remained at the Milanese court, but seems never to have given Beatrice further cause for jealousy.

This Lodovico (*il Moro*) was the fourth son of Francesco Sforza, who had married Filippo Maria's daughter, and died in 1466. Lodovico's elder brother, the reigning Duke Galeazzo, was assassinated at Milan in 1470. His son Giovan-Galeazzo was then only eight years old, and his mother assumed the regency. Frail and frivolous, young Giovan-Galeazzo spent his days in hunting and drinking, and in 1489 married Isabella of Aragon, daughter of the Duke of Calabria. But the real sovereign in Milan was Lodovico, Duke of Bari. At his brilliant court immorality was rampant.* The historian Tiraboschi wrote, "If we consider the immense number of learned men who flocked to his court, if again we remember how many famous architects and painters he invited to Milan, and how many noble buildings he raised; how he built and endowed the magnificent University of Pavia, and opened schools of every kind of science in Milan, we feel inclined to pronounce Lodovico the best prince that ever lived."

Leonardo da Vinci remained for sixteen years in Milan painting portraits and frescoes, constructing canals, arranging masques and pageants, inventing mechanical contrivances, and making countless designs for the great equestrian statue of Duke Francesco. Leonardo's fellow-countryman Bellincioni wrote: "Today Milan is the new Athens! Here Lodovico holds his Parnassus; here rare and excellent artists flock as bees to seek honey from the flowers; here chief among them all is the new Apelles, whom he has brought from Florence. Rejoice, O Milan, rejoice above all that within your walls you hold one who is foremost among excellent artists, Da Vinci, whose drawing and colouring are alike unrivalled by ancient or modern masters."

On the 25th of January 1494 Lodovico's wife Beatrice gave birth to a son. "Signor Lodovico's joy at the birth of his first born son is beyond all description," wrote Giacomo Trotti to his master, Duke Ercole of Ferrara. The child was named Ercole, but was afterwards

* Corio, fol. 448. Malaguzzi-Valeri, Francesco, *La Corte di Lodovico il Moro*, Vol. I, *La Vita Privata e l'Arte*, pp. 126 sqq., Milan, 1913.

called Maximilian, when the Emperor became his godfather. On April 16, Beatrice wrote:

"Most Illustrious Madama Mine, and Dearest Mother:

"Your Highness must forgive my delay in writing to you. The reason was that every day I have been hoping the painter would bring me the portrait of Ercole, which my husband and I now send you by this post. And I can assure you he is much bigger than this picture makes him appear. For it is already more than a week since it was painted. But I do not send the measure of his height, because people here tell me if I measure him he will never grow. Or else I certainly would let you have it. And my lord and I, both of us commend ourselves to your Highness, and I kiss your hand, my dearest mother.

"Your obedient servant and child,

"Beatrice Sfortia d'Este.

"To the most illustrious lady, my dearest Mother

"Signora Duchessa di Ferrara."

The birth of Ercole and the extraordinary honors paid to him roused the bitter jealousy of Galeazzo's wife Isabella of Aragon, who wrote this memorable Latin letter to Alfonso her father, the Duke of Calabria:

"Many years have passed, my father, since you first wedded me to Gian Galeazzo, on the understanding that he would in due time succeed to the sceptre of his father and ascend the throne of Galeazzo and Francesco Sforza, and of his Visconti ancestors. He is now of age and is himself a father; but he is not yet in possession of his dominions, and can only obtain the actual necessities of life from the hands of Lodovico and his ministers. It is Lodovico who administers the state, treats of war and peace, confirms the laws, grants privileges, imposes taxes, hears petitions, and raises money. Lodovico is in fact the true duke. His wife has lately borne him a son, who every one prophesies will soon be called Count of Pavia, and will succeed to the dukedom, and royal honours were paid him at his birth. I implore you to come to our help, and deliver your daughter and son-in-law from the fear of slavery, and restore them once more to their rightful kingdom. But if you will not help us, I would rather die by my own hands than bear the yoke of strangers, which would be a still greater evil than to allow a rival to reign in my place." *

* Corio, *op. cit.*

On the 4th of February 1495 Beatrice's second son was born, and was named Francesco after his grandfather, under which name he reigned over the Duchy of Milan during the last years of his short life. On Saturday, the 25th of May 1493, the Duchess of Ferrara, with her two daughters, Beatrice Duchess of Bari and Madonna Anna Sforza, and her son Alfonso, accompanied by a retinue of 1,200 persons sailed down the Po into the Adriatic, on their way to Venice. At the time of this visit to Venice, Beatrice d'Este, Lodovico's wife, although she was not yet eighteen years of age, was her husband's ambassador to the Doge and Senate. Her four letters addressed to her husband have been preserved in the archives of Milan. The first is dated May 27, 1493.

Beatrice and the four Milanese ambassadors were escorted to the ducal palace, where the young duchess was admitted to the *Sala del Collegio*, and laid her husband's memorial before the Signory. She also laid Belgiojoso's latest despatch before the Signory. In this missive the Milanese envoy informed Lodovico of Charles VIII's intention to send an envoy to Milan, Venice, and Rome, and to seek the help of these powers in carrying out his designs for the conquest of Naples. Beatrice, addressing the Venetian Signory in her lord's name, asked their advice as to the answer which he should give to the French King, and ended by informing them of his negotiations with Maximilian for the investiture of the Duchy of Milan. On her return to Milan, Beatrice shared her lord's counsels in court and camp; she fascinated the French King Charles VIII by her charm, and amazed Kaiser Maximilian by her wisdom and judgment in state affairs; then suddenly the music and feasting and traveling ceased. Beatrice died.

"And when Duchess Beatrice died," wrote the poet Vincenzo Calmeta, "everything fell into ruin, and that court which had been a joyous paradise was changed into a black Inferno." To her father Francesco Gonzaga, Lodovico wrote:

"Most Illustrious Relative and dearest Brother:

"My wife was taken with sudden pains at eight o'clock last night. At eleven she gave birth to a dead son, and at half past twelve she gave her spirit to God. This cruel and premature end has filled me with bitter and indescribable anguish, so much so that I would rather have died myself than lose the dearest and most precious thing that

I had in this world. But great and excessive as is my grief, beyond all measure and grievous as your own will be, I feel that I must tell you this myself, because of the brotherly love between us. And I beg of you not to send anyone to console with me, as that would only renew my sorrow. I would not write to the Madonna Marchesana and request you to break the news to her as you think best, knowing well how inexpressible her sorrow will be.

“Lodovicus M. Sfortia,
“Angules Dux Mediolani.”

“Milan, January 3, 1497
“6 o'clock.”

Not only in Milan but everywhere in Italy tyrants conspired and ruled and ravaged. They were brave, cruel, and perfidious, but their subjects loved them. Childless Carlo Malatesta died in 1429 and was succeeded by his seventeen-year-old nephew Galeotto, who deserted his besieged city of Rimini for the monastery of Archangelo, where he prayed and dreamed. But twelve-year-old Sigismondo Malatesta, brother and heir to Galeotto, surprised the enemy armies by a desperate sally from the gates, and delivered the city. This was the first adventure of the great Malatesta, perhaps the most renowned captain of adventurers. He repudiated his first wife after receiving her dowry, he murdered his second and third wives. He denied God, he denied the immortality of the soul. Yet he surrounded himself with poets who extolled him and his love for Isotta. For three years Sigismondo Malatesta fought for the Pope, gaining great glory for himself.

While his palace was being leveled to make way for the new fortress, Sigismondo removed to the Palazzo Roelli in the Via Sta. Croce. Francesco degli Atti, a merchant of noble birth, lived near by in the Palazzo del Cimiero, with his motherless daughter Isotta, who passionately loved Sigismondo but realized that she was only his mistress. “Take pity on me, poor me, give me true marriage as quickly as you can. Ah, put an end to this thing, which always keeps me enraged.” Then on the 8th of September 1400, Sigismondo’s poor ineffectual wife Genevra d’Este died, poisoned by her husband, and Sigismondo married Isotta. Meanwhile the Pope pronounced interdict and excommunication against Sigismondo, but finally made peace with him on condition that he and his brother Domenico should make penance

at Rome and surrender everything save their capitals and a few castles which also must devolve to the Holy See after their deaths. Leaving Isotta to defend Rimini, Sigismondo fought for the Venetians against the Turks. When he returned to Rimini, the Pope ordered him to cede Rimini to Rome in exchange for Spoleto and Foligno. With murder in his heart Sigismondo hastened to Rome and demanded a private audience. Guarded by princes and cardinals, the Pope received him, and heart-broken Sigismondo, unable to take his revenge, made what terms he could and dragged himself back to Rimini, to Isotta, and to death (1463).

In 1487 in Perugia the Baglioni waged ferocious war against the Oddi. Fields lay untilled, peasants became plundering savages, and beasts grew fat on "Christian flesh." To the court of Federigo of Urbino (1444-1482), "the light of Italy," came the sons of other great houses. When Federigo walked abroad, the people knelt and cried, "Dio ti mantenga, Signore!" At Ferrara, Modena, and Reggio, the D'Este or Estensi family displayed curious contrasts. Frightful deeds were perpetrated within the palace of Ferrara, and from without plots were incessant. Ferrara was the first modern European city, where wealthy fugitives from all parts of Italy built their palaces. At the new year 1502 officials bought their places at *prezzi salati*.

The opposition to these illegal despotisms chose its weapons. Tyrannicide was universally approved in Florence. Boccaccio declared: "Shall I call the tyrant a King or a prince, and obey him loyally as my lord? No; for he is the enemy of the commonwealth. Against him I may use arms, conspiracies, spies, ambushes, and fraud; to do so is a sacred duty. There is no more acceptable sacrifice than the blood of a tyrant." Machiavelli in a famous chapter of his *Discorsi* treats of conspiracy.

At the end of the fifteenth century Venice was the jewel-casket of the world, with its ancient cupolas, its leaning towers, its inlaid marble façades, its compressed splendor, the crowded piazza before San Giacometto at the Rialto, where the business of the world was transacted, and the great *Fondaco* of the Germans, before which their ships were drawn up in the canal. After Genoa had shattered the Pisan power at Miloria in 1284, and Genoa in its turn had been defeated by the Venetians at Chioggia in 1380, Venice was mistress of the seas.

With Francesco Foscari as Doge (1423-1452), Venice attained the height of her power; after his death, forsaken by all Italy, she alone confronted the advancing Turks. The Republic fought heroically, but Negroponte, Jaffa, Scutari, and other cities and possessions surrendered. The discovery of America and the Cape of Good Hope removed Venice from the principal highways of commerce. These Venetian merchants, so absorbed in the accumulation of wealth, cared little for philosophy and learning.

Florence was the first modern state. Here the struggles of political parties were bitter and the forms of government were varied. Machiavelli, Pitti, Guicciardini, Segni, Varchi, Vettori, record the great last decades of the Florentine Republic. Florence was divided between "fat people" and "small people" (*popolo grasso* and *popolo minuto*), that is to say, into the major and the minor arts or guilds. The major arts were engaged in wholesale commerce and the great business of exportation and importation, the minor arts carried on the retail traffic and internal trade of the city. While Florence fought Pisa and Siena, and the Visconti of Milan, the Florentine Medici consolidated their power. Cosimo dei Medici (1389-1464), the master of Florence, encouraged fine arts, constructed churches and libraries, and founded the Platonic Academy. His grandson Lorenzo (1449-1492) was robust, plebeian, and vital. "It would be impossible to imagine a better and more pleasing tyrant." Without an army, he was master of Tuscany, exercised immense influence over all Italian potentates, and promoted in Florence those new elements which make modern society. There were rejoicings, fantastic banquets, and dazzling symbols for the wedding of Lorenzo and Clarice (1469).

Lorenzo *il Magnifico* was a true Florentine *popolano*. His genius was Tuscan. Lorenzo describes the rose:

Queste di verde gemma s' incappella;
quella si mostra allo sportel vezzosa;
l'altra, che 'n dolce foco ardea pur ora,
languida cade e il bel pratello infiora.

And this one crowns herself with green
jewels, and that one shows herself charm-
ingly at the little wicket; and the other
who is burning just now in a sweet fire, falls
languidly down, and makes the lovely little
meadow bright with bloom.

How dear are those memories of a loved woman who comes back to her home and finds that her lover is dead:

Qui L'aspettai, e quindi pria lo scorsi
quinci sentii l' andar de' leggier piedi,
e quivi la man timida li porsi,
qui con tremante voce dissi.—or siedì,
qui volle allato a me soletto porsi,
e quivi intramente me li diedì. . . .
O sospalar che d' ambo i petti uscìal
O mobil tempo, o brevi ore a fugaci,
che tanto ben ve ne portaste vial
Quivi lasciommi piena di disio,
quando già presso al giorno disse: Addio.

It was here that I waited for him, here
that I saw him first. It was here that I
heard the sound of his light step; here
that I stretched out a timid hand to him and
said in a trembling voice: "Now sit down."
It was here that he wanted to be alone with
me; it was here that I gave myself to him
entirely. . . . Oh, the sigh that came from
both our breasts! O changing time, O short
and transient hours that took away with
you so much good! It was here that he left me
full of desire, when near the dawn he said
"Adieu!"

Lorenzo's *Ambra*, *Corinto*, and *Amoridi Venere e di Marte* are amorous poems, but *La Nencia da Barberino* puts into the mouth of a rustic lover praise of his country lass. It is an imitation of folk-song. The *Canti e trionfi carnascialeschi* (Carnival-Songs and Triumphs) show all its license. Lorenzo dei Medici died on the 8th of April 1492.

The Florentine Academy was a doctrine, a religion, a method of thinking, and Marsiglio Ficino (1433-1499) was its controlling spirit; the meetings ceased with his death (1499). When Ficino the atheist became a Christian and dedicated his vast learning to the service of God, he made faith intelligent and humanism pious. Out of Platonism he constructed a Christian theology, Aristotle dominated the thought of the Middle Ages, and the Church accepted Aristotle; yet Ficino considered Aristotle as merely a pathway to Plato. "They err who think that the teachings of Aristotle and the Platonic teachings

are opposed, both paths have the same ending." Ficino substituted Plato's philosophy for the Bible. He declares that Socrates' life symbolizes the life of Jesus and that their doctrines are identical. Yet Ficino was rigorously orthodox. At the head of each of his works he wrote, "I do not wish to advance any theory which has not been approved by the Church." Ficino declares that man has a rational soul which dies, and an intellectual soul which survives. Man descends to the animals and ascends to the angels. Students from all parts of the world attended Ficino's lectures. His *theologia platonica* is a theological commentary on the doctrine of Plato and a theory of the immortality of the soul. The soul is only a sojourner in the earth. Ficino's science is the science of God, his poetry is the poetry of God, and his life is a life of the soul. He said: "Listen to me. I wish you in a few words to learn eloquence, music and geometry; be honest and you will be a perfect orator. Temper thy soul's movements and you will understand music. Measure thy forces and thou wilt be a geometrician." Ficino had no disciples, he had friends.

Italian Hellenism has left innumerable translations and abounding imitations. Livy was its model for history and Cicero its pattern for eloquence; Cicero, Seneca and Pliny were its ideals for letters. It imitated Virgil, Lucan, and Homer in its epic poetry, and in its lyric echoed Ovid, Propertius, and Tibullus. Leonardo Bruni of Arezzo (Aretino, 1370-1444), in his *Historia Florentina*, transforms mediaeval customs and sentiments into Roman customs and sentiments. Aretino's tragedy *Poliscena* was written in prose, without division into acts, and is a story of love and seduction. It abounds in descriptions of great battles, in speeches and dissertations. "Aretino" was secretary to the Florentine Republic, and was succeeded in that office by Carlo Marsuppini, also of Arezzo, who enjoyed great fame as a teacher. The Florentine Manetti (1396-1459), so famous as an orator, wrote many histories, biographies, treatises on philosophy, and numerous translations from the Greek and Latin.

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CHAPTER XX

Writers of the Fifteenth Century

LEON BATTISTA ALBERTI (1404-1472), painter, architect, poet, philosopher, and man of letters, Florentine by origin, was born in Venice or Genoa, was educated at Bologna, grew up in Rome and Ferrara, and lived in Florence in companionship with Ficino, Landino, and Filelfo. He was beloved by the popes, by the lord of Mantua, and by Lionello d'Este and Federico of Montefeltro, and was honored by his contemporaries as "*vir ingenii elegantis, accerimi iudicii exquisitissimaeque doctrinae*," as Politian (Angelo Poliziano, 1454-1494) puts it. He designed the façade of Santa Maria Novella, the Chapel of San Pancrazio, the Palazzo Rucellai, the churches of San Andrea at Mantua and San Francesco at Rimini; discovered the *camera obscura*, the painter's scale, and the *bolide alvertiana*, for plumbing the depth of the sea.

His comic Latin play *Philodoxus* (or *Philodoxios*, 1426) was passed off on the printer Aldine as a work of the Roman orator Lepidus and published as his work. In this play the young Athenian Filodossa loves Doxia, who is loved by the insolent Fortunio. The latter, aided by his friend Froneo, breaks into Doxia's house, but by mistake carries off her sister Femia. Finally Chronos *excuviarum magister* arranges everything. Fortunio keeps the ravished Femia, and Filodossa marries his beloved Doxia.

Equally skilled in prose and in verse, Alberti was the century's ideal "new man." He paints real life. "Genipatro" in the *Teogenio* is Battista himself. "Revered, and esteemed, and held in repute because of my age; people come to me for advice and listen to me as they would to a father. And certainly it is the height of happiness to live with the soul freed from the body and to converse with nature, and to acknowledge and give praise to the Father and Giver of so many blessings." The story of the love and jealousy of *Ecatomfila* reads like a lovely fragment of a lost psychological romance. "*L'Economico*" under the title of "*Del Governo della famiglia*" is of Italian literature; a faithful description of the social, moral, and intellectual condition of fifteenth century Italians; Florentine civil

equality has arrived, the peasant is his master's torment. He wants an ox, a cow, or sheep; wants his debts paid, asks for his daughter's dowry, for a house and furniture, and is never contented.

Leon Battista Alberti was "*l'uomo universale*," the "all-sided man," the supreme product of the Italian Renaissance. A musical virtuoso, an authority on civil and canonical law, his literary works are Renaissance landmarks. His Latin prose writings were taken for classic Roman productions. He composed a treatise on painting (*De Pictura*) and another on sculpture (*Della Statua*). *De re aedificatoria* formulated the rules of architecture, and in the *Ludi mathematici* he solved and discussed mathematical, physical, and geometrical questions. *Della famiglia* treats of the education of youth, matrimony, the duties of the father of a family, the way to control the mind and body and friendship. Alberti entered into the whole life around him, noble trees and waving cornfields and the sight of a beautiful landscape cured him. His friends believed him a prophet. The colossal outlines of his personality never can be measured.

Lorenzo Valla (1407-1457) was born at Rome, died at Rome, and passed most of his life in Rome. Fazio said of him, "You respect neither persons nor places, nor times, nor recognize authority, nor the living nor the dead. You charge with error the works of all writers." Valla attacked scholastic philosophy, Aristotle, and Boethius; appealing from authority to reason, from illusion to reality. Valla incarnated this need of reality, which inspired the Renaissance. He declared virginity abnormal, courtesans better than nuns. He was a heretic, an epicurean, and a blasphemer, a frondeur, a fighter; he feared not even the Pope. To theologians, Jerome's Vulgate of the New Testament was a sacred monument. Valla revealed its innumerable errors. Because in his work *De falso credita et ementita Constantini donatione* Valla declared that the pretended "Donation of Constantine" had never been made, and because of his attack on simony and his declaration that Temporal Power had ruined the Church and enslaved the Romans, Valla was banished from Rome in 1443. After the election of Nicholas V (1447), Valla was returned to Rome and was made secretary to the Curia and Canon of St. John Lateran, where he was buried August 1, 1457. The Roman Academy that gathered round Pomponio Leto promoted literature and the study of monuments and ancient laws and customs. When the Pope dissolved this academy, some of its members were imprisoned and

tortured, others fled (1468). Pomponio Leto, however, was forgiven and permitted to reopen his Academy. But Bartolomines Sacchi (1421-1481), surnamed "Platina," was imprisoned in St. Angelo and tortured. When freed from prison, and named Vatican librarian by Sixtus IV, he revenged himself in his *Vite dei Papi*, in which he described Paul II as the most cruel of tyrants.

Poggio Bracciolini, born at Terranova (1380-1459) near Arezzo, sought truth and laughed at the authorities. Poggio searching Swiss and German monasteries discovered the works of Quintilian, Lucretius, Tertullian, Plautus, and Petronius. The news of these discoveries filled Florence with joy. During the reign of Martin V, Poggio was secretary of the Roman Curia. There he and his colleagues amused one another with apocryphal anecdotes ridiculing pope, cardinals, and religious dogmas. When Cardinal St. Angelo reproved Poggio, an ecclesiastic, for having children, especially by a mistress, he replied, "I have children and I have them by a mistress and that is an old custom of the clergy." When past fifty, Poggio abandoned the mother of his fourteen children, in order to marry a young lady of high birth.

After his return to Rome, Poggio published attacks on priests and friars, and on the death of Carlo Marsuppini (April 24, 1453) he was made secretary of the Florentine Republic and wrote a history of Florence, extending from 1350 to 1455. Poggio's *De avaritia*, *De infelicitate principum*, *De varietate fortunae*, *De miseria humanae conditionis* are unpretentious, and his letters in Latin are beautiful.

That master of fawning, Francesco Filelfo of Tolentino (1398-1481), after having taught Latin and Greek eloquence at Bologna, Florence, and Siena, and creating hatred by his arrogance, settled himself upon Filippo Maria Visconti, duke of Milan. Guarino, Filelfo, Poggio, and hundreds of other humanists reviled in Latin orations. Filelfo hurled calumny against Poggio, as Poggio did against Valla. Fifteenth century Latin epic poems such as Filelfo's *Sforziade* and Basini's *Hesperides* (1425-27) glorify their heroes.

Giovanni Gioviano Pontano (1420-1503), born at Cerreto in Umbria, living mostly at Naples, was the ambassador of Ferdinand I of Aragon, tutor to Alfonso II, and mirrored the culture of the Neapolitan court. He founded the Pontaniana Academy and wrote much in Latin. His *Charonte*, *Antonio*, and *Asino* dialogues vividly describe the titillating pleasures of Neapolitan life. *Lepidina's* hex-

ameters celebrate the nuptials of the river god Sebetus with the nymph Partenope. Sapphic (versus lyric) and Catullian hendecasyllables (*Hendecasyllabi sue Baiæ*) glow with the beauty of the Bay of Naples.

The *Amores* and *Eridani* sing of Pontano's love for frail ladies. *De amore coniugali* and *Versus jambici* tell of family joys and sorrows. "His women laughingly bare all their charms to the sun and to love." * Pontano's *Amori* and *Bagni di Baia* are languorous, caressing, bantering, and merry. His *Lepidina* murmurs of the quiet sea, love's combats, love's kisses, uncomplicated by modesty. His Naples is filled with folly and obscenity, music and passion. This is Pontano's world, the world of the Renaissance. Pontano is Naples' greatest poet.

Florentine Luigi Pulci (1432-1484) was the most independent poet of the Renaissance and the most popular, always a wanderer, was always distressed, was exiled for debt, and had many children. Pulci pretended that he had studied under a big melon. Pulci's *Morgante* shows something of Petrarch and Dante, but more of the popular imagination and the public square.

Pulci talked argot and took romance as he found it in the streets. Carlo is a dotard, Gano is a rogue, Rinaldo is a cut-purse, Ulivieri is a woman-hunter, Meridiana is a silly woman, Gano ruins the paladins, Forisena throws herself out of the window, Babylon falls in ruins, Charles is dethroned, and Lucifer swallows the souls of the Saracens. Battlefields become butcher shops, death becomes ridiculous, and miracles are absurd. Dead Orlando, changed into a dove, lights on Turpino's shoulders and enters his mouth, feathers and all. The sack of Sargossa is stupendous. The comedy becomes tragedy. Boasting, *Morgante* is ignoble, jocular, fraudulent, close to the animal. Ironical Astarotte is a freethinker, a theologian, and an astrologer. He is the best drawn and best developed conception of the *Morgante*. Orlando is the hero, but the poem takes its name from the giant *Morgante* who is always a good fellow. In the first twenty-three *canti*, Pulci follows an earlier Orlando poem. For the last five *canti*, he borrows from the *Spagna in rima*, a fourteenth century poem treating of the Spanish wars. Pulci describes battles, he cleverly interweaves episodes and reminiscences of Dante and Petrarch. *Morgante* still is pleasant reading, it is full of color and life. The

* Carducci, *Studi letterarii*, p. 97, Livorno, 1874.

Margutte character has all the vices and sins of many rogues. A highwayman, a gamester, a cheat, a glutton, a libertine, perjurer, forger, and blasphemer, he associates himself with the giant Morgante. One day upon the sight of a monkey dressed up in his boots he laughs till he dies. This Margutte episode may be an original creation of Pulci's.

The Astarotte episode reveals Pulci's learning. The jests are spontaneous. *Morgante* is a poem of chivalry presented in a modern and personal form.

Of an ancient feudal family which included several assassins, Matteo Maria Boiardo (1434-1494) was born in Scandiano, a fief of Ferrara. Duke Ercole created him captain of Modena and of Reggio. As count of Scandiano, he lived as a lord. He was venerated as a poet, a scholar, a virtuous man, and a model ruler. Ferrara was his world. Boiardo composed eclogues in the vernacular, and an amorous *canzoniere*. His style and meter imitate Petrarch, but the inspiration and thought are Boiardo's. The poet declares his love for Antonia Caprara, the first trembling joys, the pains of jealousy, indignation at abandonment, and the last faint hopes. His songs abound with imagery, and there are passages of originality and power. His *Timone*, performed at Ferrara and Mantua, is one of the earliest secular plays written in Italian.

Boiardo's *Orlando Innamorato* pleased the taste of the Este family. Its hero is the paladin Roland, fallen violently in love with a paynim maiden. The merits of the *Orlando Innamorato* are great, but what had its chivalric people to do with the age of *condottiere* and poisoners? Many Orlando episodes are original, for Boiardo lived in his imaginary world. Berni recast it in smooth Tuscan dialect, and Ariosto continued it in his *Orlando Furioso*. Boiardo makes love the motif of every action. For love of beautiful Angelica, Orlando and Rinaldo leave Charlemagne's court at Paris and follow her to the fortress of Albracca, where she is hidden, and there Orlando, Galafrone, the Circassian king, and Marfisa fight for her. Having drunk of the fountain of dislike Rinaldo hates Angelica, but drinking from another fountain she loves him and, accompanied by Orlando, follows him to France, till quenching her thirst again at the founts of love and hate, she now hates Rinaldo and he loves her.

Orlando Innamorato is a romance of combats with giants and monsters, of enchanted gardens and talismans. Boiardo borrows from classic and novelistic literature and popular tradition, and from the

Breton tales; but there is also pure invention. His knights-errant are wise and brave, his women are beautiful, and Orlando is the most awkward and clumsy of lovers. In the characters of Orlando, Rinaldo, Charlemagne, and Astolfo, Boiardo respected tradition, but also he created new personages: Valiant, courteous and gentle Brandiamante, a Saracen knight, is converted to Christianity. King Rodomonte is fiery and haughty. But thoughtless and capricious Angelica is Conte di Scandiano's happiest creation. She loves Rinaldo after she has drunk of the enchanted river, but she is a flirt with many adorers. Vigorous and valorous Marfisa is an original type of woman warrior. The *Innamorato* was the only romance of chivalry which was suited to the new age. It influenced many fifteenth century poems and was imitated in the following century, but Berni's Tuscan revision caused the original to be forgotten until the nineteenth century.

Angiolo Ambrogini Poliziano (1454-1494) was born at Montepulciano in 1454 and died at Florence 1494. He was the greatest of the humanists and was the most elegant Latin, Greek, and Italian writer of his age. He was the father of philology, was an *improvvisatore*. Lorenzo made him his secretary and the tutor of his son Pietro. In 1480 he became professor of Latin and Greek eloquence in the *Studium* of Florence. He wrote the *Stanze* and *Orfeo* poems. Between 1469 and 1470 he translated the *Iliad* into Latin hexameters. His odes and elegies are perhaps the most exquisite of the classic revival. The four *SYLVAE* prolusions in hexameter verse were delivered at the Florentine Stadium between 1482 and 1486. He collected his Latin prose, verse, and *Epistolae* into twelve books.

In 1471, in two days, he wrote *L'Orfeo* in *ottava rima*. Apparently it was performed at Mantua in 1472, during the festival prepared by Federico Gonzaga for Galeazzo Maria Sforza. In this early specimen of a secular play written in the vulgar tongue in the form of a Florentine *sacra rappresentazione*, and adopted from a pagan story under classic forms, society saw its own reflection.

L'Orfeo still is sung by Tuscan peasants. The *Stanze* which originated among the festivals of Florence deified Venus and Nature. Venus is naked, Isis is uncovered, Beauty is unadorned.

Zefiro già di bei fioretti adorno
Avea ai monti tolta ogni pruina;
Avea facto all suo nido già ritorno
la stanca rondinella peregrina.

risonava la selva intorno intorno
soavemente all' ora mattutine;
e la ingegnosa pecchia al primo albore
giva predando or uno or altro fiore.

Zephyrus already bedecked with
lovely flowerets had cleared the
white frost all away from the mountains;
the tired swallow, the traveler, had
gone back to its nest; the forest
from every side was full of sweet
sounds at that morning hour, and the
clever bees at the first ray of dawn
went pillaging now one, now another flower.

Poliziano's Rusticus breathes the air of his villa garden at Fiesole.

hic resonat blando tibi pinus
amata susurro;
hic vaga coniferis insibilat aura
supressis;
hic scatebris salit et bullantibus
incita venis
pura coloratos interstrepit unda
lapillos.

Here with soft murmur the dear-loved
pine tree sounds for you;
Here the breeze wandering rustles
the cone-bearing cypress;
Here the clear water leaps, sings
on the tinted pebbles,
Chased by the wind into spray and
bright bubbles.

Poliziano's *canzoni a ballo* are exquisite imitations of the Tuscan popular *ballata*. Poliziano in *Stanze per la giostra*, a poem in *ottave* borrowing splendid descriptions and melodious measures from ancient and modern writers, produced a poem that is homogeneous, limpid, elegant, and of exquisite freshness. In his Latin elegy on the death of Albieri degli Albizzi, the pagan feeling for beauty of form and elegance, and the wealth of description of the *Quattrocento* painters, were blended. Of Poliziano's popular *Rispetti* and *Strambotti*, Carducci says, "For the first time perhaps in poetry, he gave an

Attic stamp to Florentine idioms and an artistic finish to familiar expressions."

Giovanni Pico della Mirandola (1463-1494) greatly admired Savonarola, and when he died in 1494 he was shrouded in the frock of the Dominican friars, and buried in the Church of St. Mark. Mirandola was a prince and lord of Mirandola. He was beautiful, slender, and blond. He studied at Bologna, Ferrara, Pavia, Padua, Florence, and Paris. At sixteen he spoke Greek and Latin. When in 1486 he was charged with heresy, Pico fled to France, but was allowed to return to Florence. Lorenzo defended him against Innocent VIII and the *Signore* gave him the keys of the city. Lorenzo wrote that he lived as a saint, recited the offices of the priests, observed the fasts, and, though very rich, lived in poverty.

Pico della Mirandola planned an enormous book, the *Concordia Platonis et Aristotelis*, in which around Plato, Aristotle, and Jesus he proposed to gather all the philosophies and religions. He studied the science of numbers, the *kabbala*, Pythagoras, Democritus, Roger Bacon, and William of Paris. He claimed that arithmetic, magic, and the *kabbala* proved Christ, as truly as the Bible. In the *kabbala* he found the dogma of the Incarnation, the divinity of the Messiah, original sin, the fall of Satan, heaven, purgatory, and hell, and asserted that "the events which accompanied the death of Christ ought to persuade every *kabbaliste* that Jesus of Nazareth is the true Messiah."

Leonardo da Vinci (1452-1519) was born at Anchiano in the territory of Vinci in the lower Valdarno; at twenty he was enrolled in the Florentine guild of painters and frequented Andrea del Verrocchio's studio. We have already considered how in 1483 he went to Lodovico il Moro in Milan, and was there occupied for many years with the equestrian statue of Francesco Sforza and the Cenacolo in the refectory of the Convent of S. Maria della Grazie. After the fall of Lodovico (1499), Leonardo left Milan and wandered over Italy (1516), went to France, and three years later died at the castle of Cloux near Ambroise. His sketches of men, animals, buildings, caricatures, anatomical designs, geometrical and mechanical demonstrations, solutions of hydraulic and geological problems, precepts for painting, thoughts on science, nature, morals and art, fables, allegories, tales—all are presented in living and fitting imagery in his surviving manuscripts.

Italian scientific prose is incomparable till we come to Galileo. In Northern Italy the vernacular is narrative, dramatic and lyric; in Tuscany and in South Italy poetry and prose forms often are descriptive. In North Italy the *ottave*, *ballata*, *terza rima*, *canzone*, and *sonetto* flourished; in Naples the *strambotto a due rime* still flourished. Dante's *Commedia* suggests *Dittamondo* and other fantastic journeys and visions. Giovanni Gherardi's *Philomena* describing his journey into the realm of Venus imitates Boccaccio. Many "visions" in *terza rima* imitate Petrarch's *Trionfi*, and lyric poetry copies *Canzonieri*.

Tebaldi di Ferrara (1463-1537) and Serafino Ciminelli of Aquila (1466-1500) wrote eccentric *sonetti* and *strambotti*. Domenico di Giovanni, *il Burchiello* (1404-1449), a Florentine barber, versified his sad life and lampooned famous men. Among his many imitators was Antonio Cammelli (1436-1502).

Canzonetta and *strambotto*, popular lyric poems, probably originated in Sicily and became the *rispetto* in Tuscany. The words of the *canzonetta* often are spoken in a lively dialogue. The Venetian Lionardo Giustinian's (1338-1446) *canzonette* sometimes extol the beauty of the beloved one and pray for victory over her cruelty, or they depict the corrupt contemporary life. His twenty-seven *strambotti* are in perfect *ottavi*. Towards the end of the century the *strambotto* was the favorite lyric in the society of the courts, but the simple metric scheme of the *ballata* also was popular, and was called *barzelletta* or *frottola*. In South Italy the *strambotto* repeats the thought and the rhymes of the *ritornello*. Vespasiano da Bisticci's (1421-1498) *Vita d'uomini illustri del secolo XV* describes popes, prelates, princes, scholars, and statesmen. In the autobiographical romance, *Il Peregrino*, composed towards the end of the fifteenth century, Jacopo Caviceo from Parma disguises reality with a veil of fantastic invention.

Tommaso Guardati's *Novellino* printed at Naples in 1476 is dedicated to Ippolita Sforza, the wife of Alfonso, duke of Calabria. This important collection of fifteenth century tales abounds in Latinisms and introduces the Neapolitan dialect, which under the Aragon dominion flourished in Neapolitan literature. Pietro Jacopo de Jenaro's lyrics imitate Petrarch; Benedetto Gareth *il Cariteo* (1450-1514) was born at Barcelona, but lived at the court of Naples and wrote *Eddimione*, an amorous *canzoniere*. Neapolitan Masuccio's

tales scourge the immorality of the priests. The Normans brought chivalric tales to South Italy and they were spread by Italian minstrels (*contastorie*) who wandered everywhere. The *Accademia Coronaria* was formed in Florence. *Fioravante*, *Storie di Rinaldo*, *Viaggio di Carlomagno per conquistare il cammino di S. Giacomo* in prose, and the *Spagna*, *Uggeri il Danese*, *Rinaldo de Montalbano*, *Aspramonte*, poems, were composed in Florentine vernacular. *Febusso il forte*, *Lancilotto*, and *Tristano* repeat the transalpine tales and the Breton legends, and Antonio Pucci's *Gismirante* and the *Historia della reina d'Orient*. These Breton cycle poems usually are short, but the long Carolingian poems are divided into many *cantari*. Rinaldo the gallant and brave was a popular hero, Charlemagne possesses scant wit; and so we have the noble Chiaramonte family, and the cowardly Maganza.

I Reali di Francia, probably composed at the end of the fourteenth century by Andrea di Jacopo of Barbarino in Valdelso (b. ca. 1370), relates the history of the house of France, the adventures of Buovo d'Antona and his sons; the birth and early life of Charlemagne; the prowess of baby Orlando. Andrea pretends to write history. He criticizes his sources as though they were real historical documents. Andrea also composed *Aspramonte*, *Nerboneis*, *Guerino Meschino*, and many other prose romances in which a knight of the house of Chiaramonte is calumniated by his enemies of the house of Maganza, leaves Charles' court, and performs numberless deeds of valor in the East. He returns to Paris and delivers the city from the besieging Saracens.

For Pope Nicholas V (1447-1455), Enoch of Ascoli traversed the world, ransacking monasteries for manuscripts for the Vatican library; he was the true founder. Ciriaco dei Pizzicolti of Ancona (d. ca. 1455) traveled through Italy, Greece, Macedonia, France, and Egypt, copying inscriptions, sketching ancient buildings, and collecting cameos, statues, and books.

Flavio Biondo (1388-1463) of the Ravaldini family of Forlì, secretary to Eugenius IV, Nicholas V, Calixtus III, and Pius II, was one of the purest characters and noblest minds of his century. Biondo's *Roma Instaurata* is the first serious attempt to describe the pagan and Christian monuments of Rome. His *Italia Illustrata* describes ancient Italy. *Roma Triumphans* examines the constitution, customs, and religion of the ancient Romans. Finally he wrote *His-*

toriarum ab inclinatione Romanorum, which is the first real universal history of the Middle Ages. Biondo's *Roma instaurata* and *Roma triumphans* still make interesting reading. The historical and geographical writings of Enea Silvio dei Piccolomini (Pope Pius II, 1458–1464) vividly describe the Roman Campagna, Tivoli, the valley of the Anio, Ostia, Monte Amiata, and the Alban Hills.

Sacre rappresentazioni form an important part of the Florentine vernacular literature. In them the simplicity of the popular speech sometimes attains to majesty of diction. Being plebeian in origin and dramatic in content, the *rappresentazioni* were written in verse and at first were always sung. At a later date some of the parts of the *rappresentazioni* were declaimed. The *rappresentazioni* spectacles were originally taken from the Bible and from pious legend. The earliest Florentine sacred drama is the *Storia* (1454) of the feast of St. John by Matteo di Marco Palmierie. Paradise Lost, the Law given to Moses, the annunciation, birth, death, resurrection and ascension of Christ, and the final Judgment are all presented in a dramatic form, with brief dialogues drawn from the Bible. It is a *sacra rappresentazione*. Churches, oratories and the refectories of convents were arranged for the performance. The usual hour was Vespers. Frequently the stage was erected in a flowery field or under shady trees. The churches of Santo Spirito, the Carmine, San Felice, or the open spaces in front, were used; and the famous Florentine *Compagnia del Evangelista* performed *sacre rappresentazioni* in a field of its own. In regard to the mechanism and properties used in the *sacre rappresentazioni*, Paulin Paris, professor of the Collège de France, supposes that an open air theatre about one hundred feet long extended in front of the lowest seats of the spectators. Below the front part of the stage was the infernal region, into which the devils cast the souls and bodies of sinners, and from which issued flames and smoke. The actors spoke from the front part of the platform. The little compartments in the rear of the stage represented a country, city, desert, royal court, battlefield, or ship tossing on an angry sea. The devil and his imps rose from the inferno to tempt the saint or to seize the sinner; in the sky-scenes God the Father sat on a gorgeous throne surrounded by angels, all gleaming and flashing with lights. To an expectant Florentine audience, the "Angel" advanced, made his bow briefly, outlined the drama, and begged for reverential attention from the audience.

In these *rappresentazioni* miraculous events were performed before the eyes of the spectators. In "Abel and Cain," hell's mouth opened; "And then you shall see the soul carried by the Devil into hell." In the "Santa Cecilia," "the heaven opens and the Angels come for her soul and carry it into heaven." For the *rappresentazioni* in the church of the Annunziata, "one saw high up a heaven full of living figures moving, and an infinity of lights appearing and disappearing. Twelve children dressed as Angels . . . appeared as though they danced."

Animals frequently appeared on the stage. The "Santa Margherita" had a dragon; and Santa Cristina had two great serpents. The souls of the righteous were drawn up into heaven, and the angels were let down with ropes and pulleys; and the devils and the wicked fell into hell through trapdoors. A puppet was substituted when a saint was tortured, and a highly polished basin reflected the sunlight when a "spotlight" was required. In the *rappresentazioni* vice was punished and virtue was rewarded. After a life of suffering and final martyrdom the saint was received into Paradise. Kings, beggars, and thieves; monks, nuns, judges, and physicians; peasants and robbers, God and Jesus and the Virgin, Satan and devils from hell—all peopled the scenes. These dramas vividly reveal the social, moral, and religious conditions of the time. These fifteenth and sixteenth century people have much to say and sometimes say it well. In the *Conversione della Scozia*, two doctors converse:

Let us upstairs be going
And praising ourselves, we will keep on saying,
Except ourselves, no other save God could
have healed them

In *San Giovanni Gualberto*, the chaplain announced the arrival of two priests, each seeking appointment to the same parish. The simoniacal bishop replied:

Call each of those priests alone into a cellar,
And learn which one has got the mighty dollar.
The one thou seest that has more will for spending,
Bring him in here: to him I'm first attending.

Feo Belcari (1410–1484) composed the most ancient of these *rappresentazioni* about 1450. His Abraham, and Isaac, and the Angel

Raphael, and Tobit were dignified personages. Serious also was the "St. John and Paul" of Lorenzo de' Medici. Very pitiful was the "Last Supper and Passion" (*Cena e Passione*) by Messer Pierozzo Castellani. In most *sacre rappresentazioni*, however, the comic contended with the grave, provoked laughter. The last recorded Florentine *rappresentazione* celebrated the entry of Charles VIII into Florence in 1494.

In Pistoia, in 1516, a fraternity composed of youths gave a spoken *rappresentazione* in the Florentine manner. In Ferrara, in 1481 and again in 1490, performances were given before Duke Hercules; and there were performances in Modena and Perugia and elsewhere in Italy. The *intermezzi* between the scenes merely explained the legend, but later representations usually contained *intermezzi* with music and dances; and even hunts and battles sometimes were added to the magnificence of the sacred spectacle. When true *sacre rappresentazioni* had ceased to function, a most interesting period in the history of the Italian Theatre passed from the stage.

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CHAPTER XXI

Savonarola

FERRARA, Savonarola's birthplace and early home, for all its population of a hundred thousand souls and the gaiety of Duke Borso d'Este's magnificent court, was a sombrous place in the latter half of the fifteenth century. The miasma of those vast surrounding lagoons may well have produced brooding, fantasies, and visions in the prophet-reformer Savonarola.

At the close of a sultry day a thunderstorm bursts upon Ferrara, and Savonarola's mother Elena is anxious for the safety of her son whom she fancies in some recess of the forest, rapt in prayer and contemplation and insensible of the storm's menace. Such is the opening scene of Lenous' poem "Savonarola." This thunderstorm with its "sign" determining Savonarola's vocation may well be a creation of the poet's fancy.

But to invoke the Middle Ages, to raise flaming pyres against Art and Nature at the end of the fifteenth century, to prophesy to the generation of Guicciardini, to reduce to a monastery the Florence of Boccaccio and Pulci, might well seem the vain concepts of a disordered mind.

Savonarola was born at Ferrara in 1452. His father was a well-known physician; his grandfather was a professor of medicine in the University of Ferrara, and court doctor to the dukes of Este. When he was sixteen Savonarola was sent to the university and soon realized that "if you study philosophy and the good arts, you are a dreamer; if you live chastely and modestly, a fool; if pious, a hypocrite; if a believer in God, an imbecile; if charitable, effeminate." He returned to his home and after having loved and been rejected by the daughter of an exiled Florentine noble, he resumed his solitary recreations, living in his study or in the dim nave of the neighborhood church, or wandering along the banks of the slow-flowing river Po. His anxious parents sent him to the court of Ferrara, but Savonarola soon realized the cloister was the only place for him. On the 25th of April 1475 he entered the convent of San Domenico in Bologna.

His first act was to write a letter to his father explaining his motives for renouncing the world.

"*Honorande pater mi,*" he began. "I know that you grieve greatly, particularly since I left you in secret, but I wish you to understand my mind and my purpose, so that you may be comforted and see that I have not acted as childish as some may believe. Imprimis, the reason that moved me to enter religion is: the great misery of the world, the iniquities of men, the rapes, adulteries, larcenies, pride, idolatries, and cruel blasphemies which have brought the world so low that there is no longer anyone who does good; hence more than once a day I have sung this verse, weeping: '*Heu fuge crudelas terras, fuge litus avarum.*' Answer me then: Is it not great virtue in a man to flee the filth and iniquity of this wretched world and to live like a rational man and not like a beast among swine? So, my very dear father, you have rather to thank Messer Jesu than to weep. He has given you a son and preserved him right well for twenty-three years, and not only this, but has deigned to make him His soldier. Oime, do you not think it a great grace to have for your son a soldier of Christ Jesus?"

"Yet I know that the flesh must needs grieve somewhat, but it must be curbed by courage, especially in men like you, who are wise and high-hearted. Do you not believe that it has been a great grief to me to leave you? Surely, I hope you believe me; never since the day I was born have I known greater grief or greater pain of mind, forsaking my own blood and going among strangers to sacrifice my body to Christ Jesus and to sell my will into the hands of those I have never known; but then, remembering that God calls me and that He did not disdain to serve among us worms, I should never have been so bold as to disobey His most sweet and holy call: 'Come unto me, all ye that labour and are heavy laden, and I will give you rest; take my burden upon you.' But because I know you will complain of my leaving you secretly and almost fleeing you, I will tell you this: so do not wonder that I told you nothing. Behind the books on the case-ment I left certain writings which will tell you more of me.

"I beg you, therefore, my dear father, to put an end to your complaints and to give me no more sorrow and pain than I have; not that I regret what I have done, for certainly I would not undo it, no, not though I thought to become greater than Caesar, but because I am still flesh like you, and the senses are unruly to reason, so that I must struggle cruelly to keep the Demon from leaping on my back

and downing me; and the more so when I feel your grief, and later I hope that you and I will be consoled in this world by grace, and in the next by glory. No more remains to say but to beg you, as a man, to comfort my mother, whom I beseech, like you, to bless me, and I shall always pray fervently for your souls. Your son, Hieronymus Savonarola." To the final appeal of his father and mother he replied: "Ye blind! Why do you weep yet? Why do you lament? You hamper me, when you should rejoice and exult. What can I say if you grieve yet, save that you are sworn enemies and foes to Virtue? If so, then I say to you, Get ye behind me, all ye who work evil."

He entered the monastery, a virgin of twenty-three years, and life was still strong in him; he fasted and flagellated himself until his superiors were forced to moderate his austerities. He had visions, trances. He soon discovered that even in the convent he found the world once more. With the echo of each new scandal in Rome, his indignation arose. When he set out for Bologna he had left behind a well considered treatise on "Contempt of the World," in which he lamented the universal corruption. Within a year of his admission he composed a sequel to "Contempt of the World," and lamented "The Ruin of the Church."

When Savonarola began his pastoral duties in Ferrara, he had temperament, learning, and great power of expression, but his preaching was unsuccessful. In St. Mark's in Florence his failure was dismal. His congregation in San Lorenzo dwindled to twenty-five souls and he abandoned the pulpit to instruct novices. His vigils, his fasts, his mortifications, were incessant. One day he heard a voice bidding him go forth and announce the coming scourge of God on a degenerate Church. Then he was sent to Lombardy, where preaching among a simple people he developed a manner familiar and colloquial and unstudied. In a sermon on the Apocalypse, preached in Brescia in 1486, he shook men's souls by his awful prophecies of the wrath to come, and caused loud weeping by his tender assurances of divine mercy for repentant sinners.

When Savonarola returned to Florence in 1490 he gave his first "terrible sermon" in the church of San Marco predicting the imminent scourging of the Church. "Away with your pagan philosophy, your pagan art, your pagan poetry; in Faith and prayer alone is safety! God will visit Italy in His wrath, God will destroy the Medici and all their glory. The Church must be reformed, else will she be taught by

the lessons of pestilence and war that the Lord God Omnipotent reigneth!" And the multitude responded with exclamations and at last with a murmuring ovation. Among the first to congratulate him was Fra Mariano. But his triumph was fraught with danger, such a sensational success had to be sustained. The lofty grandeur of his themes, the grace of his phrases, his clear and penetrating voice, his fervent face, his beautiful gestures, pierced the hearts of his transported hearers. San Marco could no longer accommodate his listeners, and he moved into the Duomo, and his rule over Florence dates from that moment.

In 1494 he was elected prior of San Marco, a convent of Observantine Dominicans, and was appointed vicar-general of the Province of Tuscany. San Marco was a Medici foundation, and it was customary for the new incumbent to pay a courtesy visit to the head of that family. But Savonarola said, "My election came from God alone, and to Him alone will I profess obedience." Lorenzo, who was then at the height of his popularity and power, employed Fra Mariano to attack Savonarola from the pulpit, but his scandalous accusations only disgusted his hearers. Savonarola claimed that his sermons were inspired by God. "An internal fire burns my bones and compels me to speak," he said, as his words like a wave of lava overwhelmed the listening thousands. Day and night he cried aloud that the "clergy protected the prostitutes, sold the benefices, sold the sacrament, sold everything. Formerly the Pope called his children his nephews, now they were sons." The Pope excommunicated him, and he excommunicated the Pope. "And if ever the pope says anything contrary to that which I now say, let him be excommunicated."

As he commanded in the name of God, the Florentine taverns were closed, the brothels were closed, evil and dishonest books were burned, merchants read their Bibles, crimes and scandals ceased, and it was Fra Girolamo who rebuked the infidelities, the licentiousness, the sins against God and the people of Florence. In a probably apocryphal story of an interview between Savonarola and the dying Lorenzo, the priest is supposed to have offered Lorenzo sacramental absolution upon three conditions: "First, you must repent and have true faith in God's mercy"; Lorenzo assented. "Second, you must give up your ill-gotten wealth"; this too Lorenzo promised. "Third, you must restore the liberties of Florence"; Lorenzo turned his face to the wall and made no reply. Savonarola departed and Lorenzo died

unabsolved. With the predicted death of Lorenzo, and the fulfillment four months later of his prophecy of the death of Innocent VIII, Savonarola's influence greatly increased and his maledictions against Alexander VI became more passionate.

When Charles VIII of France invaded Florentine territory and occupied Pisa, he seemed to have come as the answer to Savonarola's prayers, the fulfillment of his prophecies.

Savonarola's interview with Charles was a monologue. "Most Christian King," he said, "you are an instrument in the hands of the Lord, who sends you to relieve the afflictions of Italy, as I have for years foretold, and to reform the Church, which lies prostrate in the dust. But if you are not just and merciful, if you fail to respect Florence, its women, its citizens, and its freedom, if you forget the mission God gives you, He will choose another to fulfill it, He will harden His hand and chastise you with terrible afflictions. These things I say to you from the Lord."

The King listened, and dismissed the friar without committing himself. On the 17th of November 1494 King Charles VIII entered Florence, with lance in rest. His demands were enormous, but the resolution of the armed populace under Savonarola's influence gave him pause. Charles was persuaded to accept moderate terms and left Florence on the 24th of November 1494. All citizens now turned to Savonarola. A popular government with a great council was formed. There was also an upper council of eighty. Unpopular taxes and forced liens were repealed.

Savonarola was the real dictator of Florence; but Savonarola had neither the training nor the temperament for governing. In his first sermons he pled for the revival of normal life and the relief of poverty and unemployment. "O my people, you know that I have never wanted to intervene in matters of State; do you think I would do so now, if I did not see that it was necessary for the health of your souls?" Plots on his life, and violent lampoons, were prosecuted by the government. But his own defense was his sermons. They were published and circulated through Italy and Europe and were translated into Turkish. The issues he raised found an echo everywhere. The Duke of Ferrara became his adherent, also the Duke of Milan.

A terrible exaltation possessed him. Intoxicated with conviction, stimulated by struggle, and prepared for persecution, the last restraints of caution now yielded to his fatalism. His impassioned

words roused the Florentines to frenzy. The Florence whose streets had shouted with Lorenzo's ribald songs (*canti carnascialeschi*), the citizens who had been dead to morality and religion, were completely changed. Hymns and lauds rang in the streets; men and women dressed with puritan plainness and people of every rank and condition renounced the world and assumed the Dominican robe. Still more wonderful was Savonarola's influence over the children. He organized the Florentine boys into a species of sacred militia. He celebrated the carnival of 1497 by the famous "burning of the vanities," in the Piazza della Signoria. But there is no proof that any book or painting of real merit was destroyed.

Savonarola's alliance with Charles VIII made his removal necessary. The *Arrabbiati* opposition was supported by all those opposed to the puritan reform. The *Compagnacci* association composed of dissolute young nobles and their retainers determined upon Savonarola's destruction. Savonarola spurned the Pope's offer of the archbishopric of Florence and the cardinalate. "I want no hat but that of martyrdom, reddened with my own blood!" On October 11 he ascended the pulpit and vehemently exhorted the people to resist the tyrant Piero de' Medici. He continued to preach at intervals until November 2. In the series of sermons on Ezekiel, which he preached through Lent (1497), he declared the Church was a monster, which must be purified. On May 13, 1497, Alexander sent to the Franciscans a bull ordering them to declare Savonarola as excommunicate and suspect of heresy. No Borgia ever forgot an enemy, and Alexander VI realized that his foe must be crushed if he was to retain his tiara.

January 1498 saw the introduction of a *Signoria* composed of Savonarola's partisans. It was an ancient custom that the *Signoria* should go in a body and make oblations at the Duomo on Epiphany, and on that day citizens of all parties were astounded at seeing the excommunicated Savonarola as the celebrant, and the officials humbly kiss his hand. On February 11th he again appeared in the Duomo, where the old benches and scaffolds had been replaced to accommodate the crowd. The *Signoria* on March 17th sent five citizens to him at night to beg him to suspend preaching for the time. The Franciscans thundered triumphantly from the pulpits; the disorderly elements were jubilant. After giving Alexander fair warning that there could no longer be truce between them, Savonarola appealed to the sovereigns of Christendom to convoke a general council for the

reformation of a diseased Church, which was a stench to God. Savonarola declared that Alexander VI was not Pope, and was not eligible to the papacy because of the simony through which he had bought the tiara, because of his wickedness, and also because he was an atheist.

Pope Alexander VI found himself confronting once more the insoluble problem of the friar; the man was becoming a movement. The friar declared that he received letters of adherence even from Germany, while in France, Charles was submitting to the Sorbonne the question of his authority to summon a general council for the reform of the Church. Rome was furious, the house of the Florentine Ambassador was attacked. A secret communication written on behalf of the friar, accompanied by a copy of his last letter to the Pope, and urging that the sovereigns of France, Spain, Germany, and Hungary should convoke a general council for the reform of the Church, had been intercepted on the Milanese frontier by the agents of Lodovico Sforza. "I testify, *in verbis Domini*, that this Alexander is no Pope, nor can be considered such, since, leaving aside his most execrable sin of simony, by which he bought the papal throne, he daily sells ecclesiastical benefices to the highest bidder. I affirm that he is no Christian, and does not believe in God, which passes the limit of every infidelity."

It is impossible to determine the successive steps leading to the strange *Sperimento del Fuoco*. We know that a Franciscan friar, a creature of the *Arrabbiati*, challenged Savonarola to the ordeal. On the 7th of April in the Piazza della Signoria a huge pile of dry wood was built the height of a man's eyes to be lighted at both ends so as to cut off all retreat. It was plentifully supplied with gun powder, oil, and sulphur, with a central gangway through which the champions were to pass. The Dominicans marched to the Piazza with Savonarola at the head, bearing the Host. The Magistrate ordered the two champions to advance, Fra Domenico stepped forward, but neither of the Franciscans appeared.

The Dominicans insisted that Domenico should carry a consecrated wafer in his left hand. The matter was disputed until evening when a heavy rainstorm gave the *Signoria* a chance to declare that Heaven was against the ordeal, which was abandoned. The people were wild with rage. Savonarola's power was ended. The next day was Palm Sunday. The streets were full of *Arrabbiati*, and such

Piagnoni as showed themselves were stoned. In the assault on the convent of San Marco more than a hundred on both sides were killed and wounded. The *Signoria* sent guards to capture Savonarola and his aids. Carried in irons to the Bargello, Savonarola's judges were chosen from his bitter enemies. His protector Valori was murdered in the street, his palace sacked.

The leading *Piagnoni* were arrested and questioned on the activities of the friar; San Marco was searched for incriminating matter. Savonarola was tortured by three and a half *tratti di fune* which consisted in tying the prisoner's hands behind his back, then hoisting him by a rope fastened to his wrists, letting him drop and arresting him with a jerk before his feet reached the floor. Violi says that on one evening the torture was applied fourteen times. Burlamacchi says that Savonarola was tortured with both cord and fire. Burchard, the papal prothonotary, states that he was tortured seven times, and Burchard was not likely to exaggerate. Savonarola's examination lasted until April 18, and under the skillful hands of Ser Ceccone, a notary, Savonarola's incoherent answers were molded into a confession, which was the most abject of self-accusations, and most compromising to all his friends. The trial lasted ten days and took place behind closed doors. On April 19 in the great hall of the council, the confession was publicly read, and created consternation among his followers.

The Pope decided to send commissioners to Florence to conduct the trial in his name, and they reached Florence May 19. Brought before Romolino on the 20th, Savonarola retracted his torture-extorted confession, and asserted that he was an envoy of God. After being repeatedly subjected to the strappado, he withdrew this retraction. The pulleys revolved, the head sagged, like a carcass he slowly spun. "Do not hurt me, I will tell you the truth, truly, truly." Then he was let down. The Apostolic Commissioner wrote to the Pope that the crimes unearthed were "so enormous that it does not seem right to reveal them at present." On the 22nd Savonarola and his companions were condemned as heretics and schismatics, rebels from the Church, sowers of tares, and revealers of confessions, and were sentenced to be abandoned to the secular arm. On the previous evening a great pyre had been built in the Piazza. On the morning of May 23 the ceremony of degradation from holy orders was performed; after which the prisoners were handed over to the secular magistrates, the

death march began, and the three figures advanced slowly along the narrow causeway. By ten o'clock all was over. The corpse swung in the breeze, and the flame loosened its bonds. The faithful grubbed in the cinders in silence; and the women, rising suddenly, spirited away the heart, which was found whole. To prevent further demonstrations, the *Signoria* ordered the ashes to be strewn in the river.

After Savonarola's burning, the streets of Florence were filled with desperadoes. Murders and gambling were unchecked; license reigned. Nardi relates that it seemed as if decency and virtue had been prohibited by law; and the common remark was that since the coming of Mahomet no such scandal had been inflicted upon the Church of God. Landucci says: "It seemed as if hell had broken loose."

A horse was brought into the Duomo, and tortured to death, goats were let loose in San Marco, and in all the churches asafetida was placed in the censers. Savonarola died the 23rd day of May 1498. Charles VIII had already imposed his yoke upon Italy, and after he had opened the way, came that long sleep of death under the domination of the stranger.

St. Francesco di Paola held Savonarola to be a saint. St. Catarina Ricci invoked him as a saint. In the frescoes of Santa Maria Novella and San Marco he is pictured as a saint, and in the Vatican frescoes Raphael included him among the doctors of the Church.

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CHAPTER XXII

The Cinquecento: Part I

THE *trecento* witnessed the disintegration of feudalism, the partial destruction of ecclesiastical authority, and produced Dante's *Divine Comedy*. The *quattrocento* replaced Christian ideals with pagan standards of living; established Italian as the literary language, substituted observation for incuriosity and realized the culmination of Italian art and the refinement of Italian manners. The *cinquecento* experienced the decline of Italian nationalism. A French army invaded Italy (1494), Rome was sacked (1527), Florence fell (1530), and Charles V was crowned in Bologna (1530). Yet this age of political disintegration, of civil wars, of broken confederacies, of traitorous leagues, is the age of classicism, of Ciceronian imitation, and of new literary forms. The *ottava*, the *canzonetta*, and the *Commedia* were assimilated. The Montefeltro, the Rovereschi, and the Este, the popes, and the Venetian doges and patricians illumined their courts and refined their society with poets, artists, and scholars. Raphael and Michelangelo dominated. Michelangelo's frescoes in Sistine Chapel (1508-1512), the Muses for the tomb of Julius II, and the statues of the Medicean tombs, Raphael's Madonnas, his frescoes of the Vatican *stanze* and *logge*, his "Transfiguration," have never been surpassed.

When Fra Bartolomeo (1475-1517) and Andrea del Sarto (1488-1530) passed, and formula was substituted for sincerity, Florentine art triumphed no longer; after Sodoma, the art of Siena became insignificant; after Ferrari of Novara, Francesco Gardeuzio and Mazzola (called Parmigiano), Parma lost its elegance; after Leonardo, Solario, and Luini, Milan closed its school of painting. Venetian traditions continued through Tiziano Vecelli (1477-1576), Palma Vecchio, Lorenzo Lotto, and their followers; while Bologna with the Carracci, and Naples with Correggio, continued the artistic glory of the century; but morality and religion were only literary expressions.

The Council of Trent (1545-1563) stabilized Catholic dogma, restored ecclesiastical discipline, confirmed the authority of the popes, and instituted the Index. The Inquisition encouraged equivocation.

The Counter-Reformation multiplied pious prose and poetry; and also those licentious writings which titillated popes, prelates, and people. Indexes of forbidden books were published. To pronounce the names of Machiavelli, Erasmus of Rotterdam, and Aretino was forbidden. An "expurgated Decameron" was printed in Florence in 1573.

Humanism, initiated by Petrarch, encouraged by Poggio, established by Valla, and made a vehicle of art by Poliziano and Pontano accomplished a revival of art during the first forty years of the sixteenth century. Printing presses multiplied. Aldo Pio Manuzio (1450-1515) of Venice diffused his books over Europe, and invented exquisite types imitating handwriting. Aided by Greek and Latin scholars in the preparation of the text his volumes have never been surpassed. Aldo's son and grandson continued his work.

Descriptive and didactic Latin poetry flourished; Jacopo Sadoletto's *Laocoon* was a classic. Every self-respecting author was supposed to compose at least one Latin lyric. Bembo's *Prose della Vulgar lingua* (1525) maintains that the Florentine dialect should be used by all Italian writers, yet Bembo himself wrote purest Latin. Giangiorgio Trissino (1478-1550) also urged the use of the Florentine language. In two letters addressed to Clement VII in 1524, he urged a union of the various Italian dialects in one language. Trissino's proposition found few supporters. Claudio Tolomei of Siena maintained that Tuscan should be the literary language; Florentine writers insisted on the Florentine dialect. Pietro Bembo's (1470-1547) poems closely imitate Petrarch's. These imitator-poets all made love to imaginary ladies, in sentiments expressed in Petrarchesque lines. Galeazzo di Tarsia's *canzoniere* and *sonetti*, however, express feeling with simplicity, and Luigi Tansillo's (1510-1568) *sonetti Amor m'impenna l'ala Poi che spiegate ho l'ale* are virile verses.

There were Renaissance women poets. Isabella d'Este, wife of Francesco Gonzaga, exercised great influence over court life. Gaspara Stampa's *Canzonieri* tell of her love for Conte Collaltino dei Collalto di Treviso. Vittoria Colonna's (1492-1547) *sonetti* record the virtues of her dead husband and the comfort of a Christian faith, while Michelangelo Buonarroti's sonnets unveil his purest love for her. Michelangelo's verse also mourns the misfortunes of Italy and voices his religious emotions. *Cinquecento* poetry often deplores Italian servitude, the corruption of the Roman Curia, the vices of the courts

and the fawning of courtiers. Satire abounds. In Rome these scurrilous lampoons of popes, cardinals, public officials, and private persons were fastened to the torso of Pasquino (a fragment of an antique statue in one of the open squares) and were called *pasquinate*.

Francesco Berni (1497 or 1498 to 1535), secretary to Roman cardinals, flung himself on his enemies and abused that austere Flemish Pope, Hadrian VI. In his *capitolo al Fracastro*, he describes the discomforts of a night passed in the house of a poor parish priest. In both *capitoli* and *sonetti*, Berni, writing mock encomia, praises dirty houses, eels, the plague, and suchlike cattle. Didactic poetry imitated the Latin. In *Le Api*, Giovanni Rucellai (1475-1525) paraphrased the fourth book of Virgil's *Georgics*, and Luigi Alamanni mingled borrowings from Virgil and other classics with his own experiences. Bernardino Baldo (1553-1617) in *La Nautica* sings of shipbuilding and of voyages, and adorns his work with charming episodes. Next to the *Api*, *Nautica* is the best of the sixteenth century didactic poems.

Great was the excitement among cultured Italians when, in 1429, Nicholas of Treves (that is, "Cusano") discovered in Germany a codex containing twelve new comedies by Plautus. These and other comedies of Plautus and Terence were soon acted at the courts of Italian princes. Terence's comedies were first printed in 1473, and three years later were published in Venice by Giovanni Rufoni (called "Planco"), and when translated these plays were widely read and performed. Plautus and Terence were gods, and it was thought that all good comedy should exactly imitate the Roman. Fortunately there were some innovators, and instead of the antique Roman types, new comedies were composed with real *cinquecento* Italian characters.

Machiavelli, Ariosto, Castiglione, Aretino, Cellini, and Tasso represent this sixteenth century. Niccolo Machiavelli (1469-1527) was a typical Florentine. He was the consciousness and thought of a society that was looking into its own soul, asking itself questions. He was born in Florence the 3rd of May 1469, and full of grief he died the 22nd of June 1527.

His verse like his prose had little imagination, but much mind. Rejected in his own day, his influence with posterity has been enormous. Niccolo Machiavelli asked, "What are you, where are you going?" When others saw national health, he saw disease; the thing he called "corruption" was the corruption of the Italian race. Imper-

sonating the spirit of ancient Rome, Niccolo Machiavelli (1469-1527) admired strength and success, he considered that weakness and failure are despicable. For Machiavelli, the welfare of the state was the supreme law, the end justified the means. Personages were meaningless, only events were important. In his *Discorsi* he planned a republic, in *Il Principe* he praised the tyrant, who like Cesare Borgia would shake off ravenous invaders and accomplish the unification of Italy.

Before his thirtieth year Machiavelli was a secretary of the Republic, and afterward became head of the Second Court, which was subject to the *Dieci di Balìa* (the "Ten of Authority"), which was charged with matters of internal government and of war. During his fourteen years of office, Machiavelli composed those official letters and documents of state which have made him famous as "Secretary of Florence." Machiavelli's diplomatic missions were important. His secret information and his estimate of men and their purposes guided the foreign and domestic policy of the Florentine *Signoria*.

In order that Florence might dispense with her rapacious and disloyal mercenary troops Machiavelli organized and trained a native militia. Unfortunately, this citizen *ordinanza* fled before the Spanish soldiers, and Florence opened her gates (1512) to the exiled Medici. These new Medici masters imprisoned and tortured Machiavelli, who upon his release retired to his little estate at S. Casciano near Florence, where he read and wrote and quarreled with his neighbors. He wrote: "When evening falls I go back to my home and enter my study and on its threshold I put off my country garments, filthy with mud and dirt, and clothe myself in royal raiment. When I am worthily attired I enter into the ancient courts and there men of old receive me with love, and for four hours' space I feel no tedium, no poverty, and death does not appall me; I am lost in them."

In 1525 Machiavelli presented the eight finished books of his *Storia* to Pope Clement VII. He returned from Rome to assist in the defense of Florence, but when in 1527 the Medici were once more driven out and a Republic proclaimed, the new government refused his services.

Machiavelli's man has the modern face; he rejects the Middle Age ideal which was the saint; the *Patria* was his God. Only when religion benefits the fatherland is it good. "Country," "Virtue" (which means strength), and "Glory" are the three sacred words. The new ideal is the patriot. Machiavelli repudiates *a priori* truth. Logic governs the world. Things are as they are, "Truth" is what is true. The content

is everything, the form is nothing. Machiavelli's prose is in the grand manner of Dante. "We must love," says Dante. "We must understand," says Machiavelli. Cesare Borgia is virtuous because he is logical. Having accepted the end he accepts the means to attain it. Machiavelli's *History of Florence* gives us the logic of events.

Machiavelli's *Il Principe* portrays a cruel, logical world. Moral responsibility lies in the end, and not in the means. He declares that since the Kingdom of Naples, the territories of Rome, Romagna, and Lombardy abound in evil rulers, who are the enemies of civilization, and have deprived these provinces of all political freedom, Italy would welcome any Italian prince who would restore order. To such a prince he promises glory if he will seize the State and properly govern it.

The *Discorsi* declare that "few men are absolutely good or absolutely bad." History is the war between him who has and him who has not. *I Discorsi sopra la prima Deca di Tito Livio* treats of an ideal government where the rule of the people is limited by the nobility. A paganism which controls the ignorant masses is better than a Christianity which discourages war and checks ambition. Machiavelli's *Dell'arte della guerra* teaches how an army should be enrolled, organized, and instructed; how it should march, camp, and fight; and how towns should be fortified and attacked.

Machiavelli's great *Istorie fiorentine* resumes the mediaeval history of Italy up to 1440, continues with a narration of the internal revolutions of Florence, describes the defects in its civil institutions, and tells of the wars and conspiracies from 1434 to 1492, when Lorenzo *il Magnifico* died. Machiavelli certainly used misrepresentation to sustain his theories, but showed the logical connection between cause and effect. "Frenchmen," he wrote, "rob people of their money, but afterwards will spend all they have taken on those they have robbed. Spaniards rob you and you can say goodbye to your money."

The century opened with Machiavelli's *Mandragola* and closed with the *Candelaio* of Giordano Bruno. *Mandragola* is a play founded on the legend concerning a medicinal herb called mandragola or mandragora, and another legend which related that a certain maiden had been nourished on poisons and that she could poison men, especially in the act of sexual union. The herb mandragola also was supposed to render women pregnant. These popular superstitions are the devices used by Machiavelli to set his plot in motion. The action

is a revelation of gay, cynical acceptance of sexual immorality, particularly by the priests.

Nicia is a character who believes the most improbable tales, provided they are told with big words. He wants children; and the doctors suggest taking Madonna Lucrezia to the baths. Callimaco declares that Lucrezia must take a drink of mandragola and then be embraced in her bed by a youth, who will thus absorb the poison, and that Nicia can then approach his wife without injury. Callimaco loves Lucrezia Calfucci, he will have her. Virtuous Lucrezia yields to the persuasions of her confessor Fra Timoteo and the exhortation of her mother. But when her surrender is accomplished, love deadens her conscience. She says to Callimaco: "Since the cunning and the foolishness of my husband, the simplicity of my mother, and the roguery of my confessor have led me to this, I am not able now to refuse that which Heaven wishes that I accept. Hence I take thee for lord, master, and guide. Thou my father, thou my defender, and I will that thou be my every good; and that which my husband has willed for one evening, I will that he shall have always." Fra Timoteo is the chief corrupter of Madonna Lucrezia. His soul is a livid pool. The *Mandragola* was accepted by Machiavelli's contemporaries as a not exaggerated representation of *cinquecento* Florentine and Italian society.

■

CHAPTER XXIII

The Cinquecento: Part II

FRA BARTOLOMEO (1475-1517) and Andrea del Sarto (1488-1530), Sodoma and Peruzzi (1481-1537), Leonardo (1452-1519), Solario (1382-1455), Luini (1470-1532), and Gaudenzio Ferrari (1484-1549) closed the great age of art in Florence, Siena, and Milan. In Venice, Palma Vecchio (1480-1528) and Sebastiano del Piombo, Lorenzo Lotto, and Bordenone (1500-1570) continued the great Venetian traditions. Annibale (1560-1609), Ludovico (1555-1619), and Agostino Carracci (1557-1602) created an academy of design which taught a return to the antique.

In Naples, Florence, and Ferrara an idle vacuous public absorbed tales, romances, and eclogues; and reveled in literary academies. Culture advanced and the vernacular imitation of Latin was perfected in Casa's *Galateo* and Castiglione's *Cortigiano*. In Tuscany, Lasca's (1503-1583) *Novelle*, Gelli's (1498-1563) *Capricci del botaio* and *Circe*, and Agnolo Firenzuola's (1493-1545) *Asino d'Oro* and *Discorsi degli animali* use dialect. This struggle between the Florentine dialect and the illustrious "Italian language" lasted long. Trissino (1478-1550) wrote his *Italia Liberata* and his *Sofonisba*, Luigi Alamanni (1495-1556) imitated Juvenal, and Monsignor della Casa imitated Cicero. Sannazaro's, Fracastoro's (1483-1553), and Vida's (1480-1566) Latin poems are most elegant. Everywhere academies flourished. Artists and literati flocked to Rome.

They were honored, feasted, deified; Michelangelo and Ariosto were called "divine"; but so were Aretino and Bembo. The first half of the sixteenth century continued this movement. Raphael painted his Madonnas. Brunelleschi's architecture conquered the Gothic. The new literature possessed everything except religion, patriotism, and morality.

Virtuosos replaced poets. The idylls prospered when Italy was at peace. When armies clashed the idyll was neglected. Carnival songs, buffoonery, and jests were popular. Casa sings of jealousy, Varchi of boiled eggs, Molza of figs, Mauro of lies, and Caro of a long nose.

They sang of dirty things, and Francesco Berni (1497-1535) adorned sensuality with culture and art. His success was enormous. The carnival songs, the *rispetti*, the ballads, and the serenades were of the people, but popular culture was dead; literary life had passed into the academies. The *cantastorie* sang wherever people could be gathered to listen.

Every class of society was drawn upon and every situation utilized for material, which formed a rich storehouse for future writers. Molière and Shakespeare used it. Pungent, witty, and comic, Lasca wrote in purest Tuscan of the banquet that the astrologer enjoyed with Scheggia, Palucca, and Monaco, his companions in fraud. "And they ran up a bill like prelates, with that kind of wine which sparkles." Francesco Straparola's narratives are vivid, and some of his folk-tales, such as *Puss-in-Boots*, were destined to win international popularity.

Bargagli, the most elegant of writers, selected noble and solemn forms. Materialism invaded literature, morals, politics, and nature. Italians were without God, but they went to church and crossed themselves.

Every period desires its looking-glass. Hence in palaces, academic halls, and convent *parlatorie*, the stage was prepared in order that the Italian *cinquecento* comedy might picture its society.

The plays were lewd, because lewdness characterized the age. The people delighted in impromptu dialogues spoken in the local dialect. Francesco Berni (1497-1535) described the middle classes, "Bernesca" style; a mixture of classicism, mannerism and realism apparently rude, but it was really fine art. In his *Capitoli* sonnets he laughs at the rudeness or obscenity he records, and satirizes immoral churchmen.

Urbino, Ferrara, and Mantua continued the Renaissance tradition, while Rome preserved that humanism which discovered and translated Greek and Latin masterpieces. But in 1527 Rome was sacked by foreign ruffians, Clement was imprisoned in Castle St. Angelo, and the age of the Renaissance was closed.

It was the age of Cosimo de' Medici (1389-1464), *Padre della Patria*, and the passing of humanism from Florence to Rome; the age of Poggio (1380-1450), of Filelfo (1398-1481), of Lorenzo Valla (1407-1457). Finally came the age of Lorenzo de' Medici (1449-1492), of Poliziano (1454-1494), of critics and scholarship, of acade-

mies, which terminated with the purists, the decline of learning, and the flight of erudition beyond the Alps. Besides the Hellenists, there were always the plain people. They spoke a language rich in proverbs, full of color. They delighted in entertainments, miracles, and executions; and were troubled by fires, plagues, and the price of bread. They prayed, loved, wept, worked, and sang. Some of these songs are bawdy, others exhale jasmine.

These people had their histories of adventures, loves, and battles, of the exploits of kings and fairies and strange animals, *novellette*, *storie*, popular tales, which were chanted by *cantastorie*. These tales came from everywhere and took a hundred forms. They tell of King David and King Arthur, of Charlemagne and Caesar, of heroes good and bad. Chiaramonte is good, Maganza is bad, pagans are defeated, Christians are victorious, duels are popular, banquets are served, giants eat human flesh; everything is there and they believe that everything is true. When the season was finished the wandering tale-tellers returned to their homes. Sometimes they memorized their tales, sometimes they improvised. And then with the coming of the Jesuits and of the Spanish Inquisition came also the Counter-Reformation, which promoted hypocrisy, assassinated human letters, and extinguished true learning.

Lodovico Ariosto (1474-1533), born at Reggio d'Emilia, studied law in Ferrara until permitted by his father to study philosophy and classic poetry (1494). When his father died in 1500 Lodovico undertook the education of his four younger brothers and the settlement of his five sisters. After holding for a short time his father's position as captain of the Fortress of Canossa, he entered the service of Cardinal Ippolito (1503) who used him in various embassies.

In 1518 Ariosto entered the service of Duke Alfonso. His love for Tito Strozzi's widow Alessandra Benucci is reflected in all his poetry. In 1522 Ariosto went as commissary to Garfagnana, a territory of the dukes of Ferrara which was infested with outlaws and tormented by the rivalries of seditious lords. Ariosto failed to bring tranquillity and he was glad to return to Ferrara in 1525. He passed the last years of his life near Mirasole, cultivating flowers, writing poetry, dreaming dreams, and retouching his *Orlando Furioso*. And there he died on July 6, 1532. Ariosto created the erudite comedy; his *Cassaria*, first performed at Ferrara in 1508, preserved the spirit, the form, and the intrigue of the Latin comedies. As his career progressed he more and

more freed his work from the influence of Terence and Plautus. The Necromancer in the *Negromante* (1530) is a portrait of a contemporary rogue and the *Lena* is a still more original comedy. The old man Fazio, who has been supporting Lena and her husband, needs this woman, but he hates her cupidity. She receives other lovers, and is a procuress. Though Pacifico is the complacent husband, he protests that she should not make Fazio's daughter her victim. The *Lena* throws a lurid light upon the cynical corruption of *cinquecento* society.

Ariosto commenced the *Orlando Furioso* in 1505, and spent the rest of his life in its composition. The poem continues Boiardo's *Innamorato*, with the same personages, but the tale develops independently. The scene opens with the siege of Paris, where Saracens have defeated Charlemagne. Among the Christians there is Rinaldo and among the pagans, Ruggiero. The conversion of Prince Ruggiero and his marriage to Brandiamante glorifies the house of Este. Ruggiero kills King Rodomonte, the last Saracen leader. The Christians finally conquer the infidels, and the poem ends.

The supernatural is merely an impersonal machine and Michael and the Devil, Discord and Atlante and Melissa are forces, not persons. When Orlando discovers that his beloved Angelica loves and is married to Saracen Medoro, he becomes insane, and armed only with a club he carries death and desolation through France and Spain and Africa. But God pities Orlando, and the Knight Astolfo, mounted upon the hippogriff, is transported in Elijah's chariot to the moon, and brings Orlando's senses down to earth in a phial. Thus Orlando's reason returns, the Christians regain their champion who kills Agramante and ends the war.

In Ariosto's poem each separate picture is finished in relief. The tragic, the comic, the idyllic, all are described with the same ease. The images are limpid, natural, and they are borne upon sonorous waves of sound that charm the ear. Orlando's madness seems natural, Orlando's recovery of his reason is not absurd. In the deep valley have been gathered together all the things which have been lost on earth:

Le lacrime e i sospiri degli amanti,
l' inutil tempo che si perde a giuoso,
a l' ozio lungo d' uomini ignoranti,
vani disegni che non han mai loco,

invani desideri sono tanti,
che le piu parte ingombran di quel loco;
cio che insomma qua giu perdesti mai,
la su salendo tirovar potrai.

Lovers' tears and sighs, the time unprofitably
spent at play, and the long idlenesses of
stupid men, and vain plans that are never
fulfilled, vain desires so many that they
clutter up most of the place; in fact, what-
ever thou lovest here below on the earth, in
rising thither thou shalt find it.

This world of pure art dissolves the Middle Ages and creates the modern world. *Orlando* is the most finished work of the Italian imagination, a landmark in the history of the human spirit. Ariosto composed for those for whom real life meant disillusion. When Charles VIII descended on Italy in 1494, Ariosto wrote:

Rursus quid hostis prospiciat sini
me nulla tengat cura, sub arbuto
iacentem aquae ad murmur cadentis.

Not a thought vexes me, of what the foe
may again be designing, as I lie under
the trees listening to the murmur of falling water.

The world is collapsing, but Ariosto can still wander in the fields, following after Lydie, Lycoris, Phyllis, and Glaura, and singing of his loves; Louis XII conquers the Duchy of Milan, but why worry?

si sit idem hinc atque hinc non leve servitium.
Barbaricone esse est peius sub nomine, quam sub moribus?

Whether here or there, is not dire slavery the same?
Is it worse to bear the name or the character of a barbarian?

When Ariosto wrote Italian, his loves were Platonic, *à la* Petrarch; when he wrote Latin, they were sensuous, *à la* Horace. Had he known Greek there would have been another phraseology. Ariosto neither believed nor disbelieved, he was indifferent. Ariosto sang of ladies and knights, but the fantastic world of chivalry, its lovemaking, its code of honor, were not Italian. Chivalric fiction might inspire popular minstrelsy and courtly poets, but it inspired neither heroic deeds

nor epic poetry, and was outside the experience of the Italian common people.

Ariosto represented this foreign, mediaeval, and poetical element which was alien to the Italian mind. His classicism and Latinity were acquired. Ariosto's poetry reflected his own character. Without passion, faith, patriotism, or religion, without hate, scorn, indignation, or revolt, but with rare analytic powers and insight into human nature, this diligent toiler in the *Orlando Furioso* produced the greatest chivalric poem ever written. Its personages are palpitating men and women. Zerbino is most lovable. Zerbino, dying, sends a last despairing look of passion to his loved one:

Per questa bocca e per questi occhi giuro
per queste chiome onde allacciato fui.

By that mouth, by those eyes, by that hair
which first enchained me, I swear.

E vi tutte l'occorrenze nostre;
sol la pazzia non v' e poca ne assai,
che sta qua giu, ne se ne parte mai.

And up there is everything we lack;
but madness is not there, either little or
much of it, because it stays down here on the
earth, and never moves from it.

Rodomonte is force, courage, and bestiality. Ruggiero, "the fount of virtue," represents the knight who is loyal, gentle, and magnanimous. Rodomonte's jealousy, Fiordiligi's grief, the dawn and the growth of passionate love in frigid Angelica, the tremendous climax of Orlando's madness, Charlemagne arrayed in primitive majesty—always there is magic, beauty, fluent style, and the Tuscan lines flow with such harmony that Ariosto seems to have thought in *ottave*. As Dante closed the Middle Ages, so Ariosto closed the Renaissance.

During the sixteenth century a hundred and seventy editions testify to the popularity of *Orlando Furioso*. Among Ariosto's imitators was Giangiorgio Trissino (1478–1550), whose *Italia liberata dai Goti* narrates the Greek war against the Goths under Belisario. Its labored heroic hexameters are pedantic and stupid. Luigi Alamanni's *Girona il cortese* (1548) gave an artistically regular form to the tales

of chivalry. Bernardo Tasso's (1493-1559) *Amadigi*, founded on the legend probably Spanish with its hundred *canti* and hundreds of episodes, was completed in 1557.

Teofilo Folengo (1491-1544), better known as Merlin Cocai, wrote his poem "Baldus" in Latin hexameters which now and then break down into Italian with Latin endings. Baldo, the hero, is the son of Guido, a brave knight descended from Rinaldo and Baldovina, daughter of the King of France. Baldo tries to imitate the deeds of Orlando, but his companions imprison him in Mantua. His beloved companions Cingar, Fracasso the giant, and Falchetto a monster, half man, half dog, release him, and the four set off on their knightly ventures and end up in Hell, where the writer leaves them. Folengo's personages are knavish vagabonds, but they are good fellows, though their raillery is plebeian. The form is epic, the caricature is parody. Everything is mocked at. The language is a mixture of Latin and Italian, and often of the local dialect. Thus he describes the Parnassus of these plebeian Muses:

credite, quod giuro, neque solam dire dosiam
possem, per quantos abscondit terra tesoros;
illic ad bassum currunt cava flumina brodae,
quae lagum suppaе generant, pelagumque huacetti.
Hic de materia tortarum mille videntur
ire redire rates . . .
Sunt ibi costerae freschi tenerique botiri,
in quibus ad nubes fumant caldaria centum,
plena casoncellis, macaronibus atque foiadis
Ipsae habitant numphae super alti montis aguzzum
formaiumque tridant gratarolubus usque foratis.

I pray you believe what I swear to you, for I
would not tell you a lie for all the treasures
that are hid in the earth. There were rivers
composed of soup which formed a lake; and there
was a sea of ragout, in which, coming and going,
were thousands of boats made of pastry.
The shores were of tender and fresh butter; and on
them were hundreds of saucepans, smoking to the
clouds with ravioli and macaroni and other
dainties. As for the Nymphs, they live on the
top of the high mountain, where they scrape cheese
with drilled graters.

Ridiculous events are soberly described as if real history. When the knights arrived at the region of Hell reserved for poetic lies, Merlino brings the tale to an end:

Tange peroptatum, navis stracchissima, portum,
tange, quod amisi longinqua per aequora remos;
he hue, quid volui, misero mihi, perditus Austrum
floribus et linquidis immisi fontibus apros.

O tired ship, make at last the longed-for
harbor, for I have lost my oars in distant seas,
Alas! Alas! What did I want, O wretched me,
who mixed the south wind with the flowers
and the wild boars with the waters!

He also wrote a burlesque of chivalric romance called *Orlandino*, and a Dantesque allegorical voyage *Chaos del Triperuno*.

THE CINQUECENTO THEATRE

The *Eccerinus* of Albertino Mussato (1261–1329) is an historical drama about Ezzelino III and his brother Alberico. It is probably the first Italian tragedy, and it is written in Latin. The meter, the chorus, and the division into five acts are modeled upon Seneca. But the idea is mediaeval. Some situations are original, occasionally the narration is dramatic. In the dynasties of the Visconti and the Sforzas, in the bloody contests of the Baglioni and Manfredi, in the persons of Pandolfo, Sigismondo Malatesta, and Cesare Borgia, in the murders, poisonings, rapes, and treasons that form the staple of the annals of their noble houses Italians lived tragically. But the written Italian tragedies, the literary manufacture of cloistered scholars, were composed without spiritual or intellectual contact with the world.

Giangiorgio Trissino's (1478–1550) tragedy *Sofonisba* was finished in 1515, and was six times printed before its first representation at Vicenza in 1562. Its material is derived from Livy's narrative of the unhappy queen's marriage with Massinissa and of her stoic death. Sofonisba and the chorus declaim some fine verses, but the work like all Italian sixteenth century tragedy is a copy of Greek tragic forms, and molded according to Aristotle's rules.

In Giambattista Giraldi's (1504–1573) *Orbecche*, first performed in Ferrara in 1541, Selina's intrigue is revealed by her daughter

Orbecche, and the murder of the incestuous pair by Sulmone, her husband, precedes the play. But Selina's ghost informs the audience that other blood will soon stain the Persian palace. Orbecche loves Oronte and already has two sons by him, but she is destined by her father to marry Selino, king of the Parthians. When Sulmone discovers Orbecche's transgression, he kills Oronte and the children and presents their bleeding limbs to his daughter, who slays her father and with the same dagger kills herself. Giraldi's *Orbecche* determined the direction of many Italian tragedies in the second half of the century. It was derived from his own *Ecatommithi*, "Hundred Tales." Giraldi formulated the "perfect drama" *Tragedia avviluppata*, which depended upon the final revelation of some hidden personality.

Plays and spectacles were common in Rome, and Pope Leo X said to his brother, "Let us enjoy the papacy, since God has given it to us."

Pomponio Leto (1425-1498) popularized the classic drama and presented plays by Plautus and Terence, and modern imitations of them. The *Asinaria* and the *Hippolytus* were performed at this time. In 1502, for the marriage of Lucrezia Borgia with Alfonso d'Este, on the same evening in which the *Menaechmi* was recited in the papal palace, there was first performed a complicated allegory of Virtue and Fortune disputing. Cesare Borgia was one of the actors.

The Sienese company of the Rozzi probably played before Pope Leo, before whom also the *Poenulus* of Plautus was performed in 1513. For these Medicean fetes a magnificent theatre was built, seating more than three thousand people. In 1514, to celebrate the visit of Isabella Gonzaga, the *Calandria* of Bibbiena was given in Rome; and Baldassare Peruzzi arranged for it "marvelous" perspectives. In 1519 the *Suppositi* of Ariosto was given with scenery by Raffaello; and only a few days before his death Pope Leo X was present at the performance of a comedy in the villa of Majana. At Venice, at the end of the fifteenth century, a Latin comedy entitled *Stephanium* was presented in the courtyard of the convent of the Eremitani and aroused great enthusiasm. Its author Giovanni Armonio Marso was a friar of the order of the Crociferi and, from 1516 to 1552, organist of the chapel of St. Mark. At Urbino, on February 13, 1488, when Elisabetta Gonzaga went there as bride of Guidobaldo di Montefeltro, all the gods of Olympus "dressed according to allegory, with

their emblems in their hands," gathered together to fete the princely nuptials. And Juno and Diana, in most elegant rhyme, disputed before Jove whether matrimony or virginity was the better life. Jove ruled in favor of marriage, observing that "if all served virginity, human generation would be lacking and it would be against the divine institution."

On February 6, 1513, the *Calandria* of Bibbiena was presented at the court of Guidobaldo, duke of Urbino, and continued its triumphal course through the princely theatres of Italy. At Bologna, January 29, 1487, in the great *sala* of the Palazzo Bentivoglio, on the occasion of the marriage of Annibale Bentivoglio with Lucrezia d'Este, a performance was given by the Riminese, Domenico Fosco. Four grandiose edifices—a tower, a palace, a wooded mountain, and a cliff—were made to advance upon the stage; and Juno, Venus, Cupid, Diana, Infamy, Jealousy, two youths, and eight nymphs took part in the action.

At Mantua, the *Orfeo* of Angelo Poliziano was represented in 1471, when Galeazzo Maria Sforza and his wife Bona di Savoia visited Lodovico Gonzaga and Barbara of Brandenburg. The *Orfeo* is profoundly classical. Its first form has the construction of a *sacra rappresentazione*. The *Orfeo* was not followed by other representations, and the actual foundation of the Mantuan theatre, and its splendor of dramatic tradition, is due to Francesco and Isabella Gonzaga.

The court of the Estensi at Ferrara accomplished much for the resuscitation of Latin comedy. These comedies were recited in the original Latin. After the presentation of the original plays came translation into Italian and, after translation, imitation. The Ferrarese theatre is first mentioned in 1486: "On the 25th day, the Duke Ercole d'Este had a fete made in his courtyard, and there was a *facezia* [a merry play or comedy] of Plautus, called the *Menechino* . . . and the cost of the said fete came to more than 1,000 ducats." In 1499 "the Duke Ercole, in the great *sala* of his court, had wooden tribunals set up so as to give some of his fetes." The *Sosia* of Terence was given, and the next evening, "a Comedy of Plautus."

In 1502, when Lucrezia Borgia came as Alfonso d'Este's bride to Ferrara, Alfonso's troupe numbered one hundred and ten actors, singers, and dancers. The court of Ferrara presented a carefully studied picture of Latin comedy; the simplicity of Plautus being re-

lieved by extravagances borrowed from mediaeval associations, and enhanced by music. The first play was the *Epidico* (in the vulgar tongue), then the *Bacchides*, third the *Miles Gloriosus*, fourth the *Asinaria*, and finally the *Casina*.

CHAPTER XXIV

Commedia dell'Arte

DURING the Middle Ages the *contrasto* (an embryonic drama personifying abstract ideas and materials) was extremely popular in Italy. In *Disputazione nobilissima del Vino e dell'Acqua* (The Most Noble Dispute of Wine and Water), the wine boasts that without him the mass cannot be celebrated, water replies that without him baptism cannot be given. There are *contrast*i between Lovers and Love, between Man and a Woman, Winter and Summer, Appetite and Reason, Rustics and Clerics; as in the obscene *Contenzione di Monna Costanza e di Biagio contadino* (The Contention of Monna Costanza and Biagio the Peasant) by Bernardo Giambullari. Since true dramatic representation would be impossible in such forms as when the Body, the Living, the Devil "says," and the Soul, the Dead, the Angel "replies," the *contrasto* was recited. But common people still preferred the old plays of simple plot. The Florentine *commediola buffa* or *farsa* in one or two acts often was improvised upon a mere outline, and was acted at street corners and in booths.

Grazzini (*il Lasca*) wrote three farces: the *Giostra*, the *Monica*, and *Il Frate*. *Il Frate*, first presented at Florence in the house of the courtesan Maria da Prato, is a masterpiece. The love of Frate Alberigo for Madonna Caterina is contrasted with the desire of Caterina's old husband Amerigo, for the wife of his friend Alfonso. Amerigo goes to Alfonso's house, but instead of his lady-love he there finds Caterina, his own wife, with Frate Alberigo who has just had his pleasure of her. The friar exalts her chastity and advises old Amerigo to conquer his senile desires. "You must know, Amerigo, that to sin is human, to amend angelic, but to persevere in sin is downright devilish. I will that you give up this practice and attend to your wife who devotedly loves you and holds you dear" (Act III, Sc. 6). Thus Alberigo speaks to the repentant man, while he himself foretastes the joys which Caterina's love will continue to give him.

From the last decades of the fifteenth century, certain burlesque *frottole* called *mariazi* (matrimony) impersonate country people

speaking their own dialects, and represent disputes between rival lovers, or quarrels between lover and mistress. The comedies of Angelo Beolco (Ruzzante) (1502-1542) are derived from these popular farces. His *Fiorina* gives a vivid picture of country life. These Tuscan *frottole*, prologues, and intermezzos, burlesquing beggars, peasants, and priests, were most popular. In Siena, early in the sixteenth century, merry tradesmen recited these *farse rusticali* in Sienese dialect. The subjects are disputes between peasants, their loves and jealousies. The *farse cavaiole* of Pietro Antonio Caracciolo, so popular in Naples, were monologues recited by the author, now in the garb of a "Merchant who sells two slaves, one male and one female"; now "under the guise of Ciraldo"; now "in the person of a turcommanno" (Turk). His other farces dramatize episodes of real life.

There is the farce "wherein is introduced La Cita, lo Cito [a bride, a bridegroom], an Old Woman, a Notary, the Priest with the Pacono [Deacon] and a Third"; there is another farce in which take part "A Sick Man, three Physicians, a Lad, and a *Magara affattocchiara*" (witch); and that of another "Sick Man, with his Mother and two servants, where there intervened a Physician and a Practitioner"; and the "Dialogue of two Beggars"; and the colloquy or dispute of "A Peasant, two Cabbage-venders, and a Spaniard"; and the farce of "A Physician, a Peasant, and the Wife of the Peasant"; and finally that one "of four peasants who match their wives with others" (or, "who yield their wives to others").

In these vivid pictures of contemporary society, there are no old misers and astute servants and dissipated youths and insatiable parasites, but peasants of the Campagna, whose weaknesses, prejudices, and customs the author reproduced on the stage. In the farce *della Cita e dello Cito* (of the Bride and Bridegroom) two clauses of the marriage contract determine the reciprocal duties of husband and wife. In the first clause, the bride

binds herself for life to fail
never in being responsive to the Bridegroom
if he himself has appetite to take her
by night and embrace her, and if instead
she should do the contrary, that he be allowed
to break all her bones and drive her out,
and then take unto himself as wife
whomever it might please him.

And in the second, the bridegroom

promises and swears from now henceforward
that if she should some lover wish to take,
he will not grieve at this, and should it happen
that he should ever find a lover in her bed,
he promises no worse affront to offer
than to go out himself and stay outside
for four or five hours and not to return
unless she send to call him; but the compact
requires that the thing his wife has done
she be obliged to make known unto him.

The only surviving *cinquecento farsa cavaiola* is *La Ricevuta dell' Imperatore alla Cava* (The Reception of the Emperor at Cava). This is based upon the visit of Emperor Charles V to Sicily and Naples. The Emperor arrived at Cava but, amid the general confusion, passed on without stopping. "Oh, cursed be the day I was born!" cries the Sindaco. "At Salerno he has been four nights" and "To us he has offered this affront!" Certainly the fault is that of the prince of Salerno himself, who must have "suborned" the Emperor and told him to pass "straight through thus in haste."

Caracciolo's farces burlesque historical facts, but in Braca's farces the author imagines fantastic episodes in which he himself plays a large part. Giovan Giorgio (Giangiorgio) Alione, a nobleman of Asti, derived his farces from jovial and salacious imaginings which, while satirizing real human types and passions, construct improbable tales. In the *cinquecento* Sieneese theatre, boasting peasants engage in ridiculous love affairs with married women and young girls, and jealous rivals interchange insults and threats and drubbings.

The pastoral comedies of the Sieneese *rozzi* are imitated in Audrea Calmo's (1510-1571) eclogues. But while the *rozzi* use only Sieneese dialect Calmo employs the dialects of Venice, Padua, Bergamo, Dalmatia, and of the Stradiotti (Greek mercenaries), as well as a mixture of Venetian and Neo-Greek. The improvisation and fixed types that Calmo probably borrowed from rustic farce became in time an accepted dramatic form, which finally deposed the conventional written Italian comedy. Angelo Beolco (Ruzzante), Andrea Calmo, and Gigio Artemio Giancarli linked the learned and the popular theatre together, and facilitated the growth of the *Commedia dell'Arte*.

The *Commedia dell'Arte* is art and it is psychology. It is a theatre of all people, of all arts, of all moments when life wings up out of drab reality. It is a theatre of music and dance, of song, color and light, of plays on wagon stages, of festivals in streets, in courts, in great squares, on rivers, at weddings and funerals and coronations, of actors with and without masks and sometimes in extraordinary costumes. Many of these actors are unknown to fame; others are immortal. Paintings, etchings, and engravings have made their faces familiar, diverting, ludicrous, and facetious; sometimes grimly, often grotesquely, the *Commedia dell'Arte* portrays incongruous humanity.

The first comic actor may have stood on a rock, a tree stump, or by evening fire in front of his hut. He postured, grimaced, gesticulated, told a funny story, cracked a joke, sang a song, burlesqued a boon companion. The *Commedia dell'Arte* developed through the ages and includes such plays as Goldoni's, which are immortal; but always the *Commedia dell'Arte* depicts human frailties, parodies human foibles.

Whatever may have been the origin of the Italian *Commedia dell'Arte*, we know that early in the sixteenth century improvised comedies were performed in the courts of princes, in the palaces of lords and in academic halls, by actors each time freshly enrolled and instructed, who returned to their ordinary occupations when the festival was over. As spectacular scenes grew more popular, acting became a profession. Comedy or tragedy performances had now become an "art." The *Commedia* with its many masks and dialects and improvised recitation was now called *dell'Arte*.

The "I Gelosi" was the most famous of all the companies which during two centuries performed the *Commedia dell'Arte* in Italy and abroad. It had as its ensign a two-faced Janus with the motto which gave rise to its name:

"Virtu, fama ed onor ne fer Gelosi."

They were jealous for the attainment of virtue, fame, and honor.

Francesco Andreini, for many years leader of the Gelosi, exclaims in one of his dialogues: "Trappola mio, no longer are such Companies to be found; and this may be confidently asserted respecting those that have but three or four good actors, the others being of little use and not equal to the chief actors of that famous company

where every rôle was remarkable. So fine was it in fact that in the dramatic art it set a standard beyond which no company of actors could go, and set an example for future actors as to how best to compose and interpret comedies and the other performances such as are generally seen upon the stage."

Facendo il Bergamesco e'l Veneziano,
N'andiamo in ogni parte,
E'l recitar commedie e la nostr'arte. . . .
Questi vostri dappochi commediai
Certe lor filastroccole vi fanno,
Lunghe e piene di guai,
Ghe rider poco i manco piacer danno;
Tanto che per l'affano,
Non solamente agli uomini e alle donne,
Ma verrebbero a nola alle colonne.

Acting the Bergamask and the Venetian we roam the whole world over, and the performing of comedies is our trade. These silly comedians of yours act for you certain foolish plays of theirs which are long and tedious and give little amusement and less pleasure. So tiresome are they in fact that they bore not only men and women, but even the Pillars.

And he invited the citizens to come

. . . alla Stanza ad udir Zanni
La Nespola, il Magnifico e'l Graziano,
E Francatrippa che vale un tesoro,
E gli altri dicitor di mano in mano,
Che tutti fanno bene gli atti loro!

to the Stanza to hear Zanni, La Nespola, il Magnifico and Graziano, and Francatrippa who is a treasure in himself, and the other actors, one after another, who all perform their parts well.

Angelo Beolco, surnamed Ruzzante (the Joker), born at Padua in 1502, was an early and famous actor in the *Commedia dell'Arte*. Ruzzante inspired the Italian comedy revival and its use of popular dialects. His characters speak Paduan, Bergamask, Bolognese, Venetian, Tuscan, Latin, Italianized Spanish, and modern Greek. Ruzzante filled the principal rôle in his own plays, sometimes wearing an archaic or fantastic costume. When he appears on the stage he says, "Let us amuse ourselves. You will never guess my name and I won't ask you to try. I am a mad spirit or goblin. I come from the

other world, and one of those spirits called Actius or Plautus orders me to tell you that a comedy will be played this evening. It is not composed in Latin, in verse or in beautiful language, nor would those ancient actors compose their comedies today in a different manner from that which you shall hear."

In Ruzzante's play *Moschetta*, Paduan peasants play the principal rôles. Ruzzante thinks to test his wife's fidelity, but she flies to a soldier's house. His efforts to win her back make excellent comedy. The Fiorina comedy is simple and sober art. Ruzzante and Merchiore contend for Fiore's favors, Ruzzante gets a beating but he carries off the prize. How characteristic of the Italian peasant is the comparison when Ruzzante declares to his beloved: "What sweetness, what joy to me to die at thy dear hands, my beautiful Fiore; for thou art dearer to me than my oxen." What a difference between Ruzzante's Fiorina and the Philenie of Demophile and of Plautus! Plautus' Philenie is a living courtesan, who accepts both father and son; after having been caressed by two slaves. But Fiorinetta truly loves Flavio:

Fiorinetta: What do you wish from me, mother?

Celega: To my great distress you have again permitted Flavio to enter the house by the garden gate. I have not said anything to you about his presence. . . . Stupid child, do you not realize your misfortune? If you love those who give you nothing, all the others will keep their hands closed. Our future depends upon competition. A hundred times I have told you, if anyone makes you a present show it to the others and they will give you something more valuable. Be charming to everyone and pretend that you love them all.

Fiorinetta: Do you wish me to love everybody as I love Flavio?

Celega: I don't tell you to love anybody but to make believe that you love them.

Fiorinetta: My mother, that would be for me a life of great suffering. I can do nothing contrary to the feelings which I have in my heart. I would rather marry; and I wish for a happier existence than that which you propose for me.

Fiorinetta is not a courtesan. This is a better play than Plautus at his best. Ruzzante played his comedies impromptu and he often leaves the improvisation to the actors. Andrea Calmo (1540), Venetian contemporary of Beolco (Ruzzante), was both actor and playwright; his *Saltuzza*, *Rodianna*, and *Travaglia* resemble classic comedies. His other plays are true *Commedia dell'Arte*, intermingling

dialects, literary Italian, and Italo-German jargon. His "Letters" are a shower of jokes, satire, and jest; a river of words rippling with laughter. The *Capraria* and *Zingana* of Gigio Artemio Giancarli of Rovigo use many dialects. In the *Capraria* both Afrone and Lionello love Dorotea; Afrone's servant Brusca tricks and cheats him. But Lionello's faithful servant Orteca advises many cunning plans. Lively and amusing, this play has a marked classical character. The *Zingana* contains many comic scenes; it is rich in jests and gay conceits and unforeseen happenings. In Ruzzante's, Calmo's, and Giancarli's plays, the professional comedians preferred improvisation, and one actor played many parts. This improvisation and the fixed types that these artists borrowed from plebeian farce and the use of the mask are the essential characteristics of the *Commedia dell'Arte*.

In 1578 a Paduan girl named Isabella joined the Gelosi Company. She was beautiful, talented, and virtuous. The actor Francesco Andreini loved her and married her. Next year Isabella bore a son G. B. Andreini, afterwards famous as "Lelio." Tasso, Chiabrera, Marino, cardinals, princes, and kings praised Isabella. In a festa given her in Rome by Cardinal Brandeni, her crowned portrait was placed between those of Petrarch and Tasso. When Isabella was on her way from Paris to Italy she died in childbirth in the city of Lyons on July 10, 1604. To her funeral aldermen sent the city flags with their mace bearers; and the merchants' corporation followed the hearse with torches. A medal was struck bearing on one side her portrait and name, with the letters "G.C." (Comedian of the Gelosi Company), and on the reverse the emblem of Fame and the words "*Aeterna fama*." With her died the Gelosi Company.

Francesco Andreini's son Giambattista, "Lelio," directed the Fedeli Company, largely composed of former Gelosi actors. United with the Accessi they performed in Milan in 1606 but soon separated. In 1601 Andreini married beautiful Virginia Ramponi, famous as "Florinda" as witness these lines:

Vive la madre tua ne la tua sposa
Che de lo suo divin dandole parte,
In Virginia respira e in lei s'cole.

Florinda illuminated the Fedeli Company until she "left the stage of this world" (1627). Lelio's second wife (1628), the actress Virginia Rotari ("Lidia"), had been his mistress for many years. Giambattista

Andreini directed the Fedeli Company until 1652. He composed many poems, comedies, and dialogues.

Another woman of the sixteenth century—a poet, musician, singer, sculptress, comedian—Vincenza Armani, was born at Venice. In her honor “guns were fired” when she entered a city; jousts and tournaments were held in her name. She acted successfully in comedy, pastorals, and tragedy. Here is some of her poetry:

E con le belle braccia
 Mi cinge il collo e tace,
 E il cor con l'alma allaccia,
 Che di desio si sface,
 Ond'io di piacer pieno
 Le bacio il petto e il seno.
 Dalla sua bocca bella
 Poi colgo il cibo grato,
 Io muto e tacit' ella,
 Liet'ella ed io beato,
 Portiam l'alte faville
 Coi baci a mille a mille.
 Quel che succede poi
 Amor solo il puo dire,
 Perch'ebri ambidue noi
 Nel colmo del gioire
 Perdiam nei gaudi immensi
 L'alma, gli spiriti e i sensi.

When her fair arms entwine
 About my neck in silent joy
 My heart and soul combine
 In sweetest bliss without alloy;
 With passion filled and rapture blest,
 I kiss and kiss her heart and breast.
 Of perfect love and pleasant fruit
 From her sweet lips I gladly kiss.
 Silent she and I quite mute,
 Happy she and I in bliss,
 The sparks of love ascend on high
 From kisses that unnumbered ply.
 What happens then you well may guess
 The God of Love alone can know.
 Intoxication both confess—
 Along the brink of joy we go
 Then plunge into that gulf immense
 Where lost is spirit, soul and sense.

The *Commedia dell'Arte* influenced the English comedy. In 1527 an Italian company crossed to England, led by the Harlequin Drusiano Martinelli. From him the two English buffoons Tarleton and Wilton probably learned the art of improvisation. We still have the *scenari* of four comedies *dell'Arte* from the time of Elizabeth. Many Elizabethan writers expressed admiration for the Italian *Commedia dell'Arte* and some reproduced the traditional comic characters in their own comedies.

Ten actors in all, three women and seven men, composed the usual *Commedia dell'Arte* company. Isabella, Vittoria, Flaminia, Celia, Flavia, Silvia, Leonora, Teodora, Alvira, are names of these maidens, shepherdesses, princesses, and queens. All are sentimental, athirst for love; but husbands are vigilant and fathers are avaricious and insist on hateful marriages, while young men are capricious or unfaithful.

These women weep often; but their tears dry quickly. They swoon, simulate madness, threaten suicide, flee from home as servants or soldiers, drink sleeping potions, are buried as dead. Some are constant, more are fickle, others change their love for gold. Colombina, Olivetta, Rosetta, Fioretta, are serving maids; partisans of their mistresses and their lovers, they carry messages and make appointments. Living in an atmosphere of love, languor, and intrigue, they love early or else, hoping for marriage, they give themselves to old men. Sometimes they supplant their mistresses. They fight with rivals and pull hair. Loquacious and lively, with smiles, airs, and graces they pass across the scene.

In the improvised comedy the male actors are lovers, old men, or servants. They sing serenades, threaten rivals, sometimes marry. Often they love married women, sometimes tempt young girls; and their amours are aided by clever servants. These servants love the serving maids, and this complicates the plot. In the *Commedia dell'Arte* the basic types are Pantalone, Dottore Graziano, Arlecchino, Pulcinella, and Brighella. When distinguished actors had made these characters celebrated they became traditional and other actors assumed the name and characteristics of that mask.

These strolling players were petted, received rich gifts; yet often they were hungry. One authority protected them, another persecuted them. The public applauded and derided. Actors friendly on the stage quarreled behind the scenes. Today they would live in luxury;

tomorrow they would wheel their barrows along the streets. Behind the fictitious splendors of the comedians' life what misery, tumult, and discord; what pride, presumption, vanity, frivolity, and jealousy; what intolerance of authority and restraint! Confined within narrow limits, in closest daily intercourse, the passions of these actors became intense.

The amours between these actresses and noblemen and between the wives of citizens and the actors became notorious. In 1590 Conte Ulysse Bentivoglio thus described the company of the Desiosi: "It is a brothel of infatuation between strumpets and scamps." Churchmen stormed against the corrupting comedians. Even in Venice, the European mart of pleasure, the Council of Ten opposed the comedians. In 1768 the Inquisition thus permitted a dramatic performance:

This evening if the door open upon theatricals, but not if the door open upon a brothel. Remember that you comedians are people hateful to God but tolerated by the Prince to gratify the people who take pleasure in your iniquities. You people easily lose your heads but the Magistrate will be vigilant if you err. Comport yourselves like Christians, even though you are comedians.

In his *Piazza Universale*, Garzoni says:

No sooner have they made their entrance than the drum beats to let all the world know that the players are arrived. The first lady of the troupe dressed like a man, with a sword in her right hand, goes round inviting the folk to the comedy. The populace hurries to take places. Paying their pennies down they crowd into a hall where a temporary stage has been erected.

The show is seasoned with loathsome buffooneries and interludes which ought to send their performers to the galleys. These profane comedians present nothing which is not scandalous. The filth falling from their lips infects themselves and their profession with foulest infamy. In everything they stink of impudicity and pique themselves by barefaced bawdry and undisguised indecency. Toward evening the crowd of quacks, blind musicians, and acrobats thicken. Here is Zan-della-Vigna with his performing monkeys; there, Catullo and his guitar; in another corner, the Mantuan merry-andrew dressed like a zany, Zottino singing an ode to the pox; and here is the pretty Sicilian rope dancer. Men eat fire, swallow tow, pull yards of twine from their throats, wash their faces in molten lead, find cards in the pockets of unsuspecting neighbors.

The heyday of this improvised comedy was the middle of the seventeenth century. Professional performers in popular theatres, or

upon improvised stages in the city squares, represented modern versions of old scenarios, in which Arlecchino distributed blows, and the only seasoning was lascivious gestures, indecent equivocations, and vulgar jokes; thus the comedy returned to the ancient tradition of mountebanks, mimes, acrobats, jongleurs, circus clowns, and rope dancers. To succeed in the *Commedia dell'Arte* the comedian required a fertile imagination, a facility of expression, a memory stocked with phrases, love speeches, and expressions of despair on which he might draw when occasion rose.

Numberless were the complications of the *scenari* or love-plots of the *Commedia dell'Arte*. Each actor had his own *zibaldone* (commonplace book), containing hundreds of phrases adaptable to almost every play. Pantalone had his "*Consiglio*"; the Doctor, his "*Tirata della Giostra*"—a long list of ridiculous names and ludicrous discoveries; the Capitano, his "*Bravura Spagnuola*."

In the *Commedia dell'Arte* Isabella was a coquette, an intrigante, a dangerous woman—near cousin to the Columbine adventurous type. The Doctor spouted Bolognese dialect, interlarded with Latin quotations and grotesque etymologies. His learned imbecility matched the Captain's warlike adventures and amorous conquests.

Neapolitan Scaramuccia's costume was black, imitating the Spanish costume used by the magistrates in Naples. A boaster and coward, he pretended to be a marquis or lord of imaginary countries. Scaramuccia was a rascal who delighted in making trouble.

Tiberio Fiorilli was born at Naples in 1608 and died in 1696. Fiorilli was miraculously endowed for the part of the Scaramouche masque. A great prince seeing him play in Rome said, "Scaramuccia does not speak but he says a great deal." In Paris in 1640 Fiorilli equaled his Italian success. He became a favorite of Louis XIV, and died in 1696 when eighty-eight years old. Molière greatly admired him. About 1620 Pulcinella was created by the Neapolitan Silvio Fiorillo at Naples. His was the Roman Maccus of crooked nose, long legs, humpback, big stomach; of absurd gestures, cries, and funny speeches.

Of Fiorillo's Pulcinella, Cecchini says, "This delightful man has introduced disciplined stupidity, at the first appearance of which melancholy flies away." Pulcinella in his long loose white jacket and pantaloons, with his beaked mask and whitened face, is still a great favorite in Rome and Naples.

In one play Pulcinella fiercely pulls the devil's tail. It comes off in his hands; he is amazed, smells it; and likes the odor. He slices off and eats a piece. Another slice and another until he has eaten up the whole tail.

The following passage from *Maridazzo di M. Zan Frognocola con Madonna Guigniocola*, printed in 1618,

Tognaz dances with Bertolina;
Brighella dances with Franceschina;
The wenches dance with their beloved
And the bride dances with her spouse,

is the earliest record of the Brighella mask. His modern costume is a white frock coat with three bands, a vest and pantaloons also white and striped with green, and he looks something like a negro clothed in an absurd livery. Brighella is a scoundrel, a braggart, and a brawler, yet he grovels before those who despise him. He fears you and hates you. He serves those who are in love. God help the girls who trust him—such was the original Brighella. The modern Brighella has improved, he murders less frequently, he is more sly but less violent. He lives to steal.

The Capitano, with his enormous moustache, his plumed hat, was made famous by Francesco Andreini's *Capitan Spavento dell' Vall'Inferno* (Captain Frightful from the Valley of Hell). Capitano is a bully, a wholesale killer. By his glance, or nod, or word, he can win any woman. He winks at courtesans, and robs honest women; but in the end he is derided and mocked.

Pedrolino, the first Zanni, is an important *Commedia dell'Arte* personage. He invents the fiction of Pantalone's bad breath, disguises Arlecchino as a dentist and necromancer, masks the youths as ghosts, derides the Doctor, Pantalone and Capitano.

Pedrolino, Piero, and Pierrot are the same (appearing first in the Italian theatre of 1547 in a comedy called *Piero Valet*, clothed in a long white shirt with a straw hat and a club in his hand). His master orders him to carry a love letter to Isabella. He loses this letter but steals one from a letter carrier and hands it to Isabella, which is the occasion of a complicated plot.

Burattino was a celebrated mask of the Gelosi Company; about 1580 he appeared in Florence and soon passed into the marionette theatre. Fresh and youthful Leandro, covered with ribbons and

lace, is the preferred lover of beautiful Lavinia, of Isabella, or of Beatrice. He makes *lazzi* which have no relation to the plot. "Tartaglia," says M. Paul de Musset, "is an extremely popular Neapolitan type." He represents the hot south, is exhausted with the climate, suffers from sore eyes, and is far from a cretin. In Carlo Gozzi's comedy of *Roi Cerf*, Tartaglia stammers and is stupid, but he is Prime Minister in the land of Serendippe.

From Roman Plautus on through the centuries the Colombina type has varied little. Catherine Biancolelli, daughter of Dominique, was the most famous Colombina. Educated, beautiful, and with a lovely voice, she had a great success. In the modern pantomime Colombina's love for Harlequin is thwarted, while rich and powerful Leandro is favored. But her fairy godmother saves her, and she marries her beloved Harlequin.

Cassandro was created about 1580 in the Gelosi Company, under the name of Cassandro da Sienna. In this play he is the serious father, while Pantalone and the Doctor are ridiculous persons. In the Roman theatre Cassandrino was a respectable citizen about fifty years old but still agile, courteous, educated, and elegant; he personifies the *monsignori* and looks something like a cardinal. He is a favorite figure in the marionettes.

In the sixteenth century in Bologna a popular poet Giulio-Cesare Croce sang in the public squares of the life and adventures of Bertoldo. Later he printed his burlesque; and the public bought his books. To his Life of Bertoldo he added that of his son Bertoldino. After Croce's death Camillo Scaligero composed a third volume containing the life of Cacasenno, son of Bertoldino. This series had an enormous success in Italy, and these characters passed into the theatre of Florence, Bologna, and Lombardy, and for three hundred years this character furnished scenes in many plays.

Flaminio Scala gave the *Commedia dell'Arte* "the definite form with all good rules." Scala also published the first fifty *scenari* of the *Commedia dell'Arte*. Scala's scenario of the Dentist is famous. Consider a few quotations:

ACT I. *Scene 1.* Pantalone tells Pedrolino of the love he feels for the widow Isabella, that he suspects that his son Orazio is his rival, and that, fearing this, he has decided to send him away to college. Taking the part of Orazio, Pedrolino reproves him; they fight with words and blows, and Pedrolino plans revenge for the bite that Pantalone has given him.

Scene 2. Franceschina searching for Orazio by order of her mistress learns from Pedrolino the reason of the pain in his arm; in revenge they agree to pretend that Pantalone's breath smells bad.

Scene 3. Flavio and Pedrolino also agree to pretend that Pantalone's breath smells bad.

Scene 4. . . . The Doctor, to whom Pantalone owes twenty-five ducats, makes the same agreement about the bad breath, Pedrolino promising to get him his twenty-five ducats.

Scene 7. Pedrolino bribes Arlecchino to pretend that he is a dentist. Arlecchino goes out, Pedrolino remains.

Pantalone is telling Pedrolino how he has spoken with Franceschina, when Pedrolino says: "Ohibo, master, your breath smells outrageously!" Pantalone laughs at him. Then Franceschina says that if his breath had not smelt Isabella would love him, and she goes in. Pantalone wonders. Then Flavio passes and, at a sign from Pedrolino, acts in the same way to Pantalone and goes off. Pantalone is surprised. In this scene the Doctor arrives. Pedrolino makes a sign to him about the breath. The Doctor does the same as the others, and goes off. Pantalone wants to ask his daughter if it is true about this. He calls her. Flaminia confesses to her father that his breath smells vilely and goes in. Pantalone and Pedrolino remain.

Scene 9. Pantalone decides to have out the tooth which Pedrolino says causes the bad smell. Arlecchino appears dressed as a dentist crying, "who has decayed teeth?" He makes Pantalone sit down and with enormous pincers pulls four good teeth. Pantalone in agony catches hold of the dentist's false beard which remains in his hand; Arlecchino runs away and Pantalone throws a chair after him. And here ends the first act.

Stupid as this sounds to the modern reader, it is but the filmy web of an embroidery which those who saw it extolled for its variety and the contrast of its colors. In fact every scenario was even less than a skeleton. Where, for example, a play said, "Captain Spavento boasts of his love for Isabella and his own bravery," in the play as it was actually performed Francesco Andreini began one of those famous monologues which were of themselves enough to secure the success of the play, and which he later developed in writing and gave to posterity under the title of *Le Bravure di Capitano Spavento divise in molti ragionamenti in forma di dialogo* (Venice, 1624). Reading these scenarios today, we miss the allusions and cannot see the tricks nor hear the voices of those masters of acting.

In the *Commedia dell'Arte* the "Old Men" are Pantalone and Doctor Graziano. The cunning and stupid servants are represented by two *zanni*; or Pantalone is sometimes a husband, sometimes a

widower, or an old bachelor. Clothed in red pantaloons with Indian robe and cloth cap and Turkish slippers, he is the old Venetian merchant mouthing orations in the Piazza San Marco.

In Flaminio Scala's plays Arlecchino is stupid, malicious, corrupt, fond of women, an expert swindler.

Joseph-Dominique Biancolelli (Dominique), the greatest Arlecchino of all time, was born at Bologna in 1640 or 1646. From his early youth Biancolelli was famous in comedy. When Dominique consulted a famous French doctor, the physician said: "My prescription for your melancholy is to go and hear Dominique." "Alas," he replied, "I myself am Dominique and I am a lost man."

Here is an example of Arlequin's despair, taken from the play *L'Empereur dans la lune*:

Oh! unhappy one that I am! the Doctor wishes to give Columbine in marriage to a farmer and I will have to live without Columbine! No! I wish to die! Ah! ignorant Doctor! Ah! inconstant Columbine! Ah! farmer much too much of a rascal! Ah! Arlequin extremely miserable! Let us hasten towards death. They will write in ancient and modern history, Arlequin died for Columbine. I will go to my chamber, I will tie a rope to the floor, I will get up in a chair, I will put the rope around my neck. I will kick the chair, and there I will be hung! (*He takes the posture of one that has been hanged.*) It is all over! nothing can stop me; let us run to the gallows . . . to the gallows! Fie, sir, what are you thinking of? Kill yourself for a girl? That would be great folly. . . . Yes, sir; but for a girl to betray an honest man is great knavery. Agreed, but when you are hung will you be any the fatter? No, I would be thinner. No! I want to be of fair size!

What have you to say to that? If you want to join in, just come along. Ho! no, indeed, you will not go. . . . Ho! I will go. . . . Ho! you will not go. . . . I will go, I tell you. (*He draws his knife, strikes himself with it, then says:*) Ah! now I am rid of that importunate fellow. Now that there is no one here, let us go hang ourselves. (*He pretends to go and stops short.*) Why, no! To hang is an ordinary death, a death one sees every day, which would not honor me. Let us search for an extraordinary death, some heroic death, a death that is Arlequinesque. (*He meditates.*) I've found it! I will stop up my mouth and nose, the wind cannot come out, and so I die. Done. (*He stops up his nose and mouth with both hands, and after having stayed in this position for a little while he says:*) No, the wind goes by the bottom, that is not worth the devil. Alas! how laborious it is to die! (*Towards the audience.*) Sirs, if someone would die to serve me as a model I would be much obliged. . . . Ah! By faith I have it. We read in stories that some people have died from laughing a lot. If I could die laughing, that would be a very

funny death. I am very sensitive to tickling; if I were tickled long enough it would make me die of laughter. I'm going to tickle myself and that way I'll die. (*He tickles himself, laughs, and falls on the floor.*)

CHAPTER XXV

Some Outstanding Works of the Sixteenth Century

FRANCESCO DI PIERO GUICCIARDINI (1483-1540) studied civil and canon law in Florence, Ferrara, Padua, and Pisa, and acquired fame and fortune as a lawyer. In 1527 he retired to his villa Finocchieto near Florence, and wrote his *Considerazioni sui discorsi del Machiavelli* and his *Ricordi politici e civili*. Though condemned as a rebel in 1530 and his property confiscated, he returned to Florence in 1534 as one of the counselors of the young and dissolute Duke Alessandro, who fell by Lorenzino's dagger in 1537. Guicciardini retired to the villa of Arcetri, wrote his *Storia d'Italia*, and died May 22, 1540. Guicciardini, though almost a contemporary of Machiavelli and Michelangelo, belongs to another age. "Before I die, I desire to see a well-ordered republic in our city, Italy freed from the barbarians, and the world delivered from the tyranny of rascally priests," he wrote. But when liberty was lost he accepted fetters. Without ideals or religion, disillusioned Guicciardini tranquilly accepted unavoidable despotism. The book of life is the "book of discretion." Why reform the world? "A ducat in the purse is better than ten spent." Guicciardini's *Storia d'Italia* in twenty books begins with the descent of Charles VIII into Italy (1494) and ends with the fall of Florence (1534).

The Reformation, the invasion of Italy by Charles VIII, the struggle between Charles V and Francis I, the change in the papacy, the fall of Florence, the "balancing" of Italy by Lorenzo, and the final dismemberment of Italy interest him less than the siege of Pisa. Guicciardini aimed at accuracy, investigated his sources, strove for impartiality, and presented the history of all Italy in a single picture. As an intellectual effort this *Storia* is most important.

Pietro Francesco Giambullari's (1495-1555) *Storia d'Europa* is not reliable. Foscolo considered Bernardo Davanzati's (1529-1606) translation of Tacitus "the most wonderful translation that has ever been

made." Venetian Pietro Bembo's *Historia Veneta* is a history of Venice from 1487 to 1513. Paolo Paruta continued this history to 1551. Their reports of the Venetian ambassadors to the various courts of Italy and Europe offer invaluable aids to the study of history. Neapolitan Angelo di Costanzo (ca. 1530-1591) wrote the *Istoria del regno di Napoli* from 1250 to 1487. Paolo Giovio's (1483-1552) *Historia sui temporis*, written in Latin, extends from 1494 to 1547, and is based on original sources, but Giovio colored truth in order to pay his debts of hatred and gratitude. Renaissance travelers and explorers describe places, people, and customs, but their chronicles must be received with caution. Giorgio Vasari d'Arezzo's (1511-1547) *Vite de' piu eccellenti pittori, scultori e architetti* extends from Cimabue to his own time. Vasari's art descriptions and his anecdotes about artists are well told.

Benvenuto Cellini's (1500-1571) autobiography is a history of another stamp. Cellini, the goldsmith, engraver, and sculptor, was a great artist. He was vain, vindictive, and dominated by art. When Rome was besieged he enlisted as a soldier, killed the Marshal of Bourbon, so he says, was a prisoner in the Castle of St. Angelo, went to Paris, lived five years under the patronage of Francis I, and returned to Florence (1545) to produce the statue of Perseus now in the Piazza della Signoria. Cellini's ideas are expressed in lucid phrases. His valor and his crimes are described *con brio*. He goes with a Sicilian priest to the Coliseum at Rome, bringing with him a boy about twelve years old and two other friends. "When we came to the appointed place, the necromancer introduced us into a circle, then he began to utter awful invocations. Vincenzio Romoli, together with Agnolino, tended the fire and heaped on precious perfumes.

"I demanded union with my Angelica. The sorcerer replied: 'The spirits say that in the space of one month you will be where she is.' Then he prayed me to stand firm, because these devils were the most dangerous of all those in hell. I was ready to die when I saw the terror of the necromancer. The boy stuck his head between his knees, exclaiming: 'This is how I will meet death, for we are certainly dead men.' I replied: 'These creatures are all inferior to us, and what you see is only smoke and shadows; so raise your eyes.' He cried out: 'The whole Coliseum is in flames, and the fire is advancing on us.' Then covering his face with his hands, he groaned again that he was

dead. I told Vincenzio to make the fumigation at once and said to Agnolo, 'Up instantly and fling asafetida upon the fire.' When Agnolo moved to do this, he let fly such a volley from his breech that it was worse than the asafetida. The boy roused by the stench and noise, and hearing me laugh, plucked up courage, and said that the devils were taking to flight tempestuously. So we abode thus until the matin-bells began to sound. We issued from the circle, huddling as close as we could to one another, especially to the boy, who had got into the middle. The necromancer tried to persuade me to assist him in consecrating a book, by means of which we should extract immeasurable wealth. We reached our homes, and each of us dreamed all that night of devils." And such tales were believed by learned men in the sixteenth century.

Sixteenth century novels describe the contemporary life: the romantic novel flourished in North Italy; the novel of normal life prevailed in Tuscany. Lasca's novels reflect laughter-loving Florentine society. Straparola's *Piacevoli Notti* recount stories told on the Murano Island in the Venetian lagoon. In 1565 Giraldis printed in Sicily the *Ecatommisti*, his collection of one hundred and twelve Tales. Merry Agnolo Firenzuola's (1493-1545 or 1546) *Ragionamenti Amoriosi* are a collection of tales, some of them licentious, told by three youths and three maidens in a villa near Florence.

Matteo Bandello (ca. 1485-1560) of Castelnuovo on the Scrivia is a preeminent sixteenth century novelist. After leaving a Milanese Dominican convent, Bandello became a dependent of Isabella Gonzaga at Mantua. About 1528 he entered the service of Cesare Fregosa, a soldier in the pay of Venice and of France. He settled in Bassens in France, wrote poems, and published his amorous and military novels. He was elected bishop of Agen in 1550 and died in France about 1560. Some of Bandello's two hundred and fourteen tales are short and simple; others assume the proportion of a romance. Bandello is Italy's greatest novelist after Boccaccio. He is the historian of Italian society in the first half of the *cinquecento*.

Florence's two greatest writers of comedy in the sixteenth century were Antonio Francesco Grazzini (1503-1583) called Lasca, and Giovanni Maria Cecchi (1518-1587). Grazzini was a rebel. The *Gelosia* prologue ridicules writers who pretend to be modern yet introduce ancient customs, saying, "Thus did Plautus, and Terence, and Menander, not perceiving that in Florence one does not live as

formerly in Rome and Athens." Mocking, jesting, witty, Grazzini is purely Florentine. His gaiety and laughter are spontaneous.

In Cecchi's finest comedy, the *Assiuolo*, Giulio and Rinuccio, students of the University of Pisa, love Madonna Gretta, old Ambrogio's wife, and Ambrogio loves Rinuccio's mother Anfrosina. Anfrosina confesses everything to Gretta; and the two women conspire that Ambrogio shall be received by his own wife by night in Rinuccio's chamber. But disguised Giulio himself receives Ambrogio, shuts him up in the courtyard, and after having had his pleasure with Gretta, makes himself known to her, obtains her forgiveness, and the promise of future joys. In the meantime Rinuccio, expecting to find Madonna Gretta in Ambrogio's house, is welcomed by her beautiful sister Violante who confesses that she has long loved him. Thus the two students pass that adventurous night.

G. B. Gelli's *Sporta* has been called "after the *Mandragola* the finest comedy of the ancient comic theatre." Published in 1543, it roused discussion. Grazzini charged Gelli with having stolen his comedy from Machiavelli; Machiavelli's nephew, Giuliano de Ricci, declared that Machiavelli composed a comedy called the *Sporta*, and that G. B. Gelli gave it out as his own. Gelli undoubtedly owes much to Plautus, from whose *Aulularia* the *Sporta* directly derives.

What brilliancy of conception, profundity of observation, clearness of presentation, there is in the *Candelaio* by Giordano Bruno of Nola! This comedy, probably written at Paris in 1582, palpitates with life. The *candelaio* (chandler) Bonifacio, loves the prostitute Vittoria and hopes to attain his end by magic arts. Miserly old Bartolomeo bends over his furnaces, striving to make gold. Learned Manfurio vituperates all who deny his authority. These stupid men are deceived and robbed by knaves. From the Neapolitan underworld came many of the situations and figures of Bruno's obscene comedy.

What vivacity, what movement, what dialogues, what monologues, what questions and answers! Consider the twenty-fourth scene of the fifth act of the *Candelaio*. Madonna Carubina interrogates Madonna Angela Spigna as to whether she should marry Bonifacio. To her came Madonna Carubina and said:

"My Mother, they wish to give me a husband; Bonifacio Trucco presents himself, having the wherewithal and the means."

Replied the old woman: "Take him."

"Yes, but he is too old," said Carubina.

Replied the old woman: "Daughter, don't take him."

"My relations advise me to take him."

She replied: "Take him."

"But I don't much like him," said Carubina.

"Then don't take him," she replied.

Carubina added: "He is of good family."

"Take him," said the old woman.

"But he takes two bites at a cherry."

She replied: "Don't take him."

"I am informed," said Carubina, "that he has a greyhound of good breed."

"Take him," said Madonna Angela.

"But alas, I have heard that he is *candelaio* (a chandler)."

"Don't take him," she replied.

Said Carubina, "All esteem him mad."

"Take him, take him, take him, take him, take him, take him, take him," said the old woman seven times. "It does not matter that he is a chandler, never mind if he takes two bites at a cherry, it's nothing to you if he doesn't much please you, never mind if he's too old, take him because he is mad. But mind he isn't one of that rigid, bitter, sour kind."

"I am certain he is not one of those," said Carubina.

"Take him then," said Madonna Angela, "take him!"

CHAPTER XXVI

Castiglione and Aretino

CONTE BALDASSARE CASTIGLIONE'S (1478-1529) family was of Lombard origin. His father was related by marriage to the ruling house of Gonzaga, and possessed a palace in Mantua and the manor of Casnatico in the country. At sixteen Baldassare went to Milan to complete his schooling at the brilliant court of Lodovico Sforza, "the court of the *cognoscenti*." "A young man well favored in person," wrote the bishop of Mantua to his father, "learned, elegant, discreet, of the utmost integrity, and so gifted by nature and fortune that if he continues as he has begun he will have no equal." In 1500, when Lodovico Sforza was carried a prisoner to France, Baldassare returned to Mantua, and in 1504 attached himself to the court of that most famous mercenary leader of his age, Guidobaldo Malatesta, duke of Urbino. When the dispute between Pope Clement VII (Medici) and the Emperor became acute, Castiglione was sent as the Pope's ambassador to the court of Charles V in Spain. He was received with the highest honors, was afterwards naturalized in Spain, and made bishop of Avila.

Castiglione, however, had been tricked by the Emperor Charles into thinking that he could bring about a settlement of the differences between himself and the Pope. In 1527 Rome was sacked by the Imperialists, Castel Sant' Angelo captured, and Pope Clement made prisoner. Castiglione was accused of treachery, because he had not warned the Pope; and when he died at Toledo in 1529, it was said that grief at the imputation had killed him. The body of Castiglione was carried in state to the most sumptuous church in Christendom and laid away in the innermost shrine reserved for the heroes and saints of Castile. After the funeral, the Emperor remarked to his courtiers, "*Yo vos digo que es muerto uno de los mejores caballeros del mundo.*" The remains were subsequently transported to Italy to lie with those of his wife in the church of the Madonna delle Grazie near Mantua.

Castiglione's Latin and Italian verses and his letters are graceful,

but it is his *Il Cortegiano* which has given him fame. *Il Cortegiano* is written in the form of a supposed discussion held in the drawing room of the Duchess Elisabetta Gonzaga, between Pietro Bembo (1470-1547), Bernardo Dovizi, called Cardinal Bibbiena (1470-1520), Giuliano de' Medici, and others, on the question: "What constitutes the perfect courtier?" Each of these fictitious characters expresses his own viewpoint. Written in 1514 and published in Venice in 1528 *Il Cortegiano* has been called *Il Libro d'oro*. It describes the Renaissance ideal of an Italian gentleman, and paints charming pictures of the court of Guidobaldo, duke of Urbino: "the purest and most elevated court in Italy." People came from every province of Italy and from every walk of life to Urbino. Soldiers, scholars, prelates, artists, parasites—all came to Urbino and there found something in common. It was a court of charming, accomplished people, in that mountain retreat. But this precarious calm depended on the good will of that ambitious old man Pope Julius. To the Sacred College, Julius announced a forthcoming campaign against two rebellious vassals of the Holy See, Perugia and Bologna. Guidobaldo, duke of Urbino, joined him with a small force, and the French promised five hundred men-at-arms. Gianpaolo Baglioni, the tyrant of Perugia, made his submission.

In the intervals of his official duties in Rome, Castiglione worked on *The Courtier*, which he had begun as a memorial to Duke Guidobaldo and the court of Urbino. When Pope Julius died, Castiglione was sent to Rome as ambassador *pro tempore* of Urbino. At the Vatican the Pope welcomed him. Giuliano de' Medici was "his dearest brother," and Cardinal Bibbiena wrote, "Beside all the rare virtues that endear you so deeply to me and to all who value the humanities and mutual affection, your devotion will always make you first in my heart and I remain the same *bel Bernardo* as of old."

Castiglione was in constant demand to stage plays, improvise symposiums, direct concerts, or grace suppers. But the claim of his book was compelling. Giuliano de' Medici was most sympathetic to Castiglione. The fragrance of their friendship in Urbino still clung to Giuliano in Rome. His elaborate dress, the bandeau on his hair, the French hat tilted at a rakish angle, his swarthy beauty, and the air of languid dissipation which he cultivated could not hide his gentle personality. Pope Leo was ingratiating, Giuliano was winning. After the close of the Congress of Bologna, Castiglione started for Mantua,

but stopped in Modena to please his mother. When only thirty-seven he wrote from Rome, "The flower of my first years is fading, and this life is but a shadow, a fleeting dream, a vapor, a wind." His mother decided that he ought to marry, and selected fifteen-year-old Ippolita Torelli who had money, youth, character, beauty, and position. After the marriage Castiglione had leisure to write, and the *Cortegiano* was completed. In this he wrote: "Our courtier must be well born. Nobility is like a clear lamp, illuminates good conduct, reveals the bad, and incites a man to virtue. It follows that in arms and other noble actions the most successful men are of high birth." "This nobility of birth does not seem so necessary," a voice protests. "The courtier may be of lowly birth and have other worthwhile merits." Admitting this Castiglione also opens his vocation to the natural gentleman. "I would have our courtier well favored, and he should be born with beauty and ability and with a certain grace which will make him pleasing and welcome to everyone.

"I believe that the principal and true profession of the courtier should be arms, the soldier we seek should be the bravest among the brave before the enemy, but everywhere else modest and reserved, avoiding ostentation and self praise which always arouses aversion."

As for moral grace, "I believe that the only true moral philosopher is the man who tries to be good. But besides goodness and spiritual grace I believe a man should know the charm of letters. The courtier should love his Prince, adapt all his ways and manners, and strive to please him. The best way to win favor is to merit it. Just as truly his manner and habits, actions and speech are symptoms of his qualities. Intimate friendships may be dangerous. Sometimes closest friends finally quarrel, therefore we should not permit a friendship so deep that later we may regret it." In concluding the discussion Federigo Fregoso says, "To prompt you to something more, I should like to ask you a question about what you have said is the principal profession of the court lady." But the Magnifico remains discreet. "All I say is that love, as you understand it, is only proper to married women." "The hour is late, the contest is over, and it is the unanimous sense of the evening that the courtier is a man who is forever courting a lady who is never compromised."

Castiglione locked *The Courtier* away in his closet. He had outgrown his past and his book. He now realized that the life of the courtier was a pose, and that the book was merely a literary exercise.

He loved his wife passionately, and with the birth of his first child he was born anew. To Castiglione's mother, his wife wrote: "I have given birth to a little girl. I do not think you will be disappointed. But I have been much worse than before. I have had three spells of fever; I am better now and I hope it will not return." And then she died.

Because of the indiscretion of an admirer who had circulated the manuscript of *The Courtier*, Castiglione was compelled to publish his book in order to prevent a garbled edition from appearing.

Pietro Aretino was born in a hospice in Arezzo 1492, the child of Tita, the lovely prostitute, model of so many sculptors and painters. He had neither family, friends, protectors, nor education. "I went to school just long enough to learn how to make the holy cross, so if I compose scurvily I deserve pardon." A libertine in Lombardy, a religious in Ravenna, he finished his education in the lewd and promiscuous papal court of Leo X at Rome. There he remained a lackey in the household of the banker Chigi, until he gained an entrance to the Vatican and conferred on himself the title of *Il Veritiero*, "the truth teller." He had discovered his life's purpose. Born to expose the hypocrisy of his fellow men, he reveled in obscenity. When Aretino was obliged to flee from Rome, Giovannino de' Medici (Giovanni delle Bande Nere, 1498-1526), "the hope of Italy," gave him a soldier's welcome.

Together their horses clattered through the streets of Reggio, together they drank to the "Truth." Together they fought. In October 1524, François crossed the Alps, recaptured Milan and bottled up the Imperialists in Pavia. Giovanni joined him with his Black Bands, and Aretino was introduced to the French King and made an impression. Then Aretino returned to Rome and once more flattered Pope Clement.

In February 1525 the Imperialists were defeated in the battle of Pavia, and Italy lay at the mercy of Charles who proposed to punish the Pope for his treaty with the French. Assassins attacked Aretino and left him for dead. Though wounded in his head, chest, arm, and leg, his pen-hand crippled, he recovered, and quitting Rome returned to the Marquis Federico Gonzaga, who consented to receive him for a week. Dismissed by the Marquis and persecuted by Rome, with every

door closed, and war over Italy, he sought refuge in Venice. When he reached the lagoon in March 1527, he was a beggar. He turned to Titian, who agreed to pay Aretino half of whatever commissions he procured for the painter. He sold Federico Gonzaga two portraits by Titian, and one sacred subject by Sebastiano del Piombo, and soon found other customers. Aretino and Titian both loved wine and women, food and gossip, high living and low life.

Aretino wrote Federico Gonzaga proposing to immortalize him in an epic poem. The delighted Marquis, who craved fame at any price, gave him money, damasks, and wine, and hampers of delicacies. From Venice Aretino governed Italy with his pen. "I, who do not even know the beginnings of A, B and C, am teaching persons who know it to X, Y and Z. Besides the medals of myself in bronze, gold, silver, copper, lead, and plaster, I have full-size effigies on the façades of palaces; and my likeness is stamped on the chests, and it figures among the ornamentation of the mirrors, and also on plates of majolica, like Alexander, or Caesar, or Scipio." Aretino received everything that human greed could grasp; Julius III made him a Knight of St. Peter, and might have made him a cardinal. The pirate Barbarossa and the Sultan Suleiman sent him presents. His dwelling was thronged by artists, women, priests, musicians, monks, and valets. Many of them came with gifts. At the entrance of his house was his white marble bust, the head crowned with laurel. He personified Venice, and Venice made him immortal.

Pierina Riccia, the fourteen-year-old bride of one of his secretaries, was brought to his house. Aretino writes: "I am happy when I see her continually caressed by Polo, her discreet husband and my creature. And it is a miracle that she and Caterina are always arm in arm, but so it is, and my life knows a peace that it has never known before. I have taken her in lieu of a daughter, nay I have made her my own daughter." Aretino no longer found joy in debauches, yet yearned for novelty. He resented the innocence of Pierina, yet dared not admit that he desired her.

The aroused husband deserted Pierina, but nothing could save her from Aretino's sympathy. Then when for the first time he knew love it shamed him; he ached for her lost innocence, but the mischief was done. She became ill, after thirteen months she recovered; but the moral corruption continued, she eloped with a lover. Four years later

she returned to Aretino to die. He welcomed her and prolonged her life with every comfort he could provide. "Though Time heals every wound," he repeated three years later, "I do not believe that its years will ever cure the malady that my love for Pierina has left in my heart. I may truthfully say that when she died, I died."

Pietro Aretino was a man pursued by women, was feared by rivals, eulogized by poets, kissed by the Pope, and rode stirrup to stirrup with Charles V. He wrote as different works as the *Ragionamento della Nanna* and the *Vita di santa Caterina da Siena*. A professed Christian, he helped the needy, tended the sick, dowered orphans, kept open house for beggars; yet led a life of flagrant debauchery, painted vice alluringly, and was the most vitiated product of the Renaissance. Aretino bullied and blackmailed; like a ravenous wolf he seized his prey; he wore his pen like a dagger; he wielded it like a coward. Yet his picture of his times and contemporaries is true. In this consists its value. He was called *Divinissimo*, *Precellentissimo*, *Unichissimo*, *Omnipotente*, the Divine Aretino. In the year 1557 at the age of sixty-five Pietro Aretino died and his house "Ca Aretino" was for sale. A black box slowly bore his remains over the lagoon.

In Pietro Aretino's tragedy *Orazio* (1546) he follows Livy's tale of the Roman Celia's murder by her brother Orazio. Aretino's historical fidelity is noteworthy; his images are powerful. When Orazio is led prisoner before the king, he looks at Spurio:

And meeting with his own mine eyes
He smiled, and smiling seemed a sun,
Which sudden 'mid the clouds is born and dies.

Aretino's comedies, the *Marescalco*, *Cortigiana*, *Ipocrita*, *Talanta*, and *Filosofo*, composed in prose between 1525 and 1542, powerfully portray contemporary society in its basest aspects.

The *Cortigiana*, written at Rome (1525) and printed in Venice (1534), is life itself. In the prologue he writes: "If I fail to observe the usual order that comedy demands, do not be surprised at it; because one lives in another manner in Rome than in Athens." The ferocious satire against the *Signori* is a great picture of contemporary Roman society. The procuress Alvingia is the most successful character in the *Cortigiana*. A contriver of crimes and corrupter of consciences, who feigns great devotion, she is unlike the panders of the Latin theatre.

Read the eighth scene of the fourth act of the *Cortigiana*, in which

Alvigia promises Togna that in her house she will procure her great pleasure in spite of her husband Arcolano:

ALVIGIA: Tic toc.

TOGNA: Who's there?

ALVIGIA: It's I.

TOGNA: Who are you?

ALVIGIA: Alvigia, daughter.

TOGNA: Wait, I'm just coming.

ALVIGIA: Well found, dear daughter—*Ave Maria*—

TOGNA: What miracle is this that you let me see?

ALVIGIA: This Advent and this weather have so upset me with its accursed fasts that I'm no longer myself.—*Gratia plena dominus tecum*.

TOGNA: You always say prayers, and I no longer go to church; nor do any longer anything good.

ALVIGIA: Bless thee, I am a greater sinner than others,—*in multieribus*,—knowest thou what I want to say to thee?

TOGNA: Madonna, no.

ALVIGIA: Thou wilt come at five o'clock to my house, for I want to put thee with the seigneury—*et benedictus ventris tui*,—and with other advantage that I did not the other day,—*in hunc et in hora*—listen to me,—*mortis nostrae*,—don't think any more about it.—Amen.

TOGNA: From first to last I'll do what you want, for the great drunkard deserves all evil.

ALVIGIA: Thou art wise—*Pater noster*—thou wilt come dressed as a man because these grooms,—*qui es in coelis*—play mad jokes by night—*santificetur nomen tuum*,—and I would not that shouldst rush away in two-twos,—*adveniat regnum tuum*,—as did Angela from the moor,—*in coelo et in terra*.

TOGNA: Alas, here's my husband.

ALVIGIA: Don't lose thy chance,—*panem nostrum quotidianum da nobis hodie*—there's no other fete that I know of this week, daughter. Unless the station to San Lorenzo, extra.

In the *Cortigiana*, the man who wants to be a cardinal, and the man who imagines that every woman is at his feet, are baited by courtesans and panders.

PLATARISTOTILE: Woman is the guide to evil and the mistress of perfidy.

SERVANT: Whoever knows it had better not say it.

PLATA: The heart of woman is helped by trickery.

SERVANT: Sad for the man who does not see it.

PLATA: The only woman who is chaste is the one who has never been solicited.

SERVANT: Oh, yes, I believe it.

PLATA: A man who endures the perfidy of his wife learns to forgive injuries.

SERVANT: A good receipt for cowards.

Aretino's "Boccaccio" is one of those pigeons who were caught by a prostitute and plucked. Her maidservant sets the trap.

BOCCACCIO: Why does your lady want to talk to me, who am a stranger here?

LISA: Perhaps because of your charm. Yes, yes, do not deny it. You know you have charm.

BOCC: You are pleased to flatter me.

LISA: May I die this moment if she is not having spasms from the wish to talk to you.

BOCC: If she were kind she would give me some sign of it.

LISA: If you saw her but once, you would never look at any other beauty but hers. Stand still. Stop! Look at the sun and the moon and the star that are rising at that door.

BOCC: What a beautiful apparition!

LISA: Your taste is good.

BOCC: If only I am the man she is looking for! It is easy to make mistakes in names.

LISA: But yours is so sweet that it sticks to the lips. Ah! here she is! And running to meet you with open arms.

The courtesan is Aretino's favorite subject. His Angelica is typical of the whole species, and his Nanna is the supreme specimen of her kind. The merit of Aretino's comedies is naturalness. Each character lives. Aretino's plays are a mine of information upon the social life of the Renaissance. At the pleasure of a charlatan writer who thrives on this pollution, we enter the Italian brothels by their back door, sit down in their kitchens, and become acquainted with the secrets of their trade.

CHAPTER XXVII

Tasso, Guarini, Sarpi

DURING the second half of the sixteenth century the midnight of Spanish servitude and Catholic obscurantism entombed the Italian world. The Council of Trent (1545-1563) controlled the intellect and encouraged hypocrisy. Society and literature became vacuous, mannered, and pedantic, and culminated in *secentismo*. Yet a poet and a masterpiece brighten the gloom.

Torquato Tasso (1544-1595), son of that Bernardo Tasso who wrote the *Amadigi*, was born at Sorrento. At the age of ten Torquato joined his exiled father at Rome. His mother remained in Naples to fight for her property with her brother. This separation and the death of his mother in 1556 profoundly affected Tasso. When fifteen he and his father went to Venice, and Tasso studied law in the university at Padua. The hero of his poem *Rinaldo* (1562) is young Rinaldo da Montalbano, whom the perfidious Maganzanesi try to injure. In the end monsters, giants, and wicked knights are all destroyed; and Rinaldo marries the fair Clarice. The *Rinaldo* poem is without distinction. Having lampooned certain dignitaries, Tasso was ordered from Bologna in 1564, and took service next year with Cardinal Luigi d'Este in Ferrara, and here for twenty years he experienced much sorrow and little happiness.

In October 1570 he went to Paris with the cardinal, and then joined Duke Alfonso. From 1572 to 1574 were perhaps the only truly happy years in his life. He was tall, slender, sympathetic, with courtly manners. The Duke made Tasso his constant companion. In April 1575 he finished his great poem, the *Gerusalemme liberata*, but so bitter was the enmity of his critics that Tasso determined to rewrite his poem. *Gerusalemme conquistata*, "Jerusalem conquered," was the result. In this monotonous refashioning of *Gerusalemme liberata* Erminia's picture of Gildeppi's and Odoardo's death and the episode of Olindo and Sofronia disappear, while many religious amplifications extend the poem to twenty-four *canti*. *Mondo creato*, finished in 1594, tells of the creation of the world in unrhymed mo-

notonous lines. Mental exhaustion and the jealousies of court life wrought havoc with Tasso's sensitive nature. He imagined that enemies were everywhere, and he was confined in some little rooms in the castle and was treated by the Duke's physician. From there he was transferred to the convent of San Francisco in Ferrara. In 1577 he fled to Sorrento and found peace in the house of his sister Cornelia. He again appeared in Ferrara (February 1579) at the moment when the Duke was celebrating his marriage with Margherita Gonzaga, and the court was crowded with princes and nobles. Because the Duke did not receive him at once in audience, he became so violent that he was removed to a cell in the Spedale di S. Anna, where he remained for seven years. At first Tasso was badly treated at S. Anna; but from May 1580 he was allowed to write letters, receive his friends, had better rooms and better food; and occasionally walked abroad in the custody of an attendant. In many poems and many letters Tasso implores better treatment and greater liberty. On July 12, 1586, Vincenzo Gonzaga, prince of Mantua, was allowed to take Torquato Tasso with him to Mantua, but suspicion and melancholy soon returned, and in October 1587 Tasso fled to Rome, where he spent most of his remaining years, first in the house of his old friend Scipione Gonzaga then at the Quirinal, or Vatican, or as the guest of the nephews of Pope Clement VIII.

He visited Florence (1590), Mantua (1591), and Naples (1592), and everywhere was treated with kindness. He wrote many letters and lyrics and composed the tragedy of *Il Torrismondo*.

As Tasso's health became worse he was taken to the monastery of S. Onofrio on the Janiculum hill, April 1595, "not only because the air there was praised by the doctors, but to begin as it were from this elevated spot, and with the conversation of these devout fathers, my conversation in heaven." He died on the 26th of April, and his body was buried in the church of S. Onofrio where it still remains. Artists depicted his likeness, scholars praised him in prose and verse, and the Pope caused solemn honors to be accorded to him. There have been privileged poets whose souls have vibrated in unison with an environment of mutual comprehension. There are martyr poets, doomed to live in utter discordance with their own nature. Of these was Torquato Tasso. Tasso craved love, yet his childhood was sombered by the separation of his parents. Tasso craved a spiritual religion, and the Church gave him sophism and the Inquisition. A feather tossed

upon a stormy sea, at last he was visited by a gleam of glory, cheered by a ray of hope, received a pension from the Pope and the pontifical proposal to solemnly crown him with laurel in the Capitol. At that moment, he dies; and the bells of the Capitol peal for his coronation, the laurel crowning the author of *Gerusalemme liberata*.

Torquato Tasso lived amid vice, but remained honest; he suffered the pain of two warring worlds. Though educated by Jesuits, Tasso's culture was not religious. The "Jerusalem" represents a chivalric, romantic, voluptuous world, which goes to mass and crosses itself. Reason speaks, but Armida acts. Rinaldo recalls Ariosto's Rinaldo. Argante suggests Rodomonte. Heaven and hell participate. The devil instigates the magician Idraote, king of Damascus, to send the beautiful Armida to the Christian camp. She obtains from Godfrey ten champions who depart for her protection. Hell torments the Crusaders with drought and storm. God, however, sends rains to quench their thirst, the archangel Michael repulses the infernal powers. Tancred returns to camp. Rinaldo liberates Armida's champions.

In the Fortunate Isle, Rinaldo has been seduced by the camp, breaks away, and leads the attack on the walls of Jerusalem. Clorinda dies in the arms of her sorrowful lover. Tancred kills Argante, Rinaldo kills Solimano. Raimond kills Aladin. David's tower is captured. Victory is complete, and Godfrey enters Jerusalem. Of Tasso's great poem only those episodes, the battles between the Christian and the Infidel armies, the taking of Jerusalem, and the battle of Ascalon live today. Tasso attempted an epic but created a lyric. A soft melody flows through the poem and sounds in the episodes of Olindo and Sofronia, and the deaths of Bubone, of Gildippe and Odoardo, and of Clorinda. The real hero, Tancredi, is Tasso himself. Clorinda becomes articulate only in death. Erminia lives because she loves. "*Oh belle agli occhi miei tende latine!*" (How lovely ye look to mine eyes, ye Latin tents!) Who before Tasso had ever depicted Woman with so fine an analysis, and in all her contradictions? Her tongue says, "I hate," her heart answers, "I love." Her hand shoots the arrows, "*e montre ella saetta, Amor lei piaga*"; and even while she aims Cupid pierces her heart. "*Quel che piace, ei lice*" (If it pleases, it is permissible). "*Solo chi segue cio che piace a saggio*" (He alone is wise who follows pleasure). Armida ends by becoming the slave of him whom she first enslaves. She is the last and most interesting magical apparition in poetry.

On July 31, 1573, Torquato Tasso's *Aminta* was performed on the island of Belvedere in the Po, not far from Ferrara. The narrative is developed lyrically and the choruses sing of pastoral life and love. By scene and episode *Aminta* is elaborated into a regular drama without losing its beautiful simplicity. In this most singular jewel of Italian literature, the classic idealization of pastoral life is suffused by voluptuous melancholy. The style is elegant and a soft charm flows through its verses. *Aminta* had a triumphant reception. Everywhere there were imitations. Tasso wrote his *Torrismondo* in imitation of *Oedipus Tyrannus*. But the only thing that lives is the elegiac. A few of its sonnets and *canzoni* have survived. Describing a lovely woman:

Che del latte la strada
ha nel candido seno,
e l' oro delle stelle ha nel bel crine,
ne' lumi ha la rugiada.

Who hath the Milky Way in her
white bosom, and the gold of the
stars in her lovely hair, and the
dew in her orbs.

And this is how the poem tells of her pain:

Fonti profondi son d'amare veng
quelli ond' io porto sparso il seno e'l volto;
e 'n finito il dolor, che dentro accolto
si sparge in caldo pianto e si mantene;
ne scema una giammai de tanta pcne,
perch' il mio core in dolorose stille
le verse a mille a mille.

Deep founts from bitter veins are these
which I have spilled on my breast and my face;
and infinite is the pain that has gathered inside
my heart and is now flowing outwards in hot tears,
and continues to flow; and of all these pains
not one grows less, though my heart is pouring
them out in thousands and thousands of bitter drops.

An extremely learned man, Tasso's poetic material is full of reminiscences. His prose work exuberates quotations. The most absurd teachings of the Church are true. It is a soul petrified by the Inquisi-

tion and classicism. The love of wife, or of family, or of friend, or of country, of these there is not a single image.

Tasso takes a romantic foundation and on it he erects a lyrical, subjective sentimental world. His poetry must be declaimed. It resounds with an "*Arma virumque cano*." Torquato Tasso mingled mediaeval traditions with revived classicism. *Gerusalemme liberata* was the last glory of *cinquecento* before the gloom of *secento*. During the eighty years between *Sofonisba* and *Torrismondo* the subjects, styles, and meters of Italian tragedy varied, but the technique was the same.

The century which began with Sannazzaro's (1458-1530) *Arcadia* ended with Guarini's (1538-1612) *Il Pastor Fido*, a tragi-comedy which was published in 1590. Comedy was developing in new and living ways. The Neapolitan farces were already approaching this type. Beolco (1502-1542), "the very famous Ruzzante," wrote such plays. The chapters in this book on the Italian *Commedia dell'Arte* deal with this Italian society.

Giambattista Guarini (1538-1612) was a courtier by nature and a poet by circumstance; with Tasso he had studied at Padua, and at Ferrara became his rival. Disgusted with the Estes, he retired to one of his beautiful villas, where he wrote his *Pastor fido*, which has some of the characteristics of the regular sixteenth century drama. It follows classic models as to unity of time and place, and fuses tragic and comic elements into one harmonious whole. The characters are well drawn. The last note is *Omnia vincit amor*:

Quello e vero gioire
che nasce da virtu dopo il soffrire.

Joy, to be really joy, must be
born from virtue after suffering.

The thing that matters is amorous enjoyment under forms so voluptuous that Bellarmino declared Guarini's verses had done more harm than the Lutherans.

In the *Pastor fido* the characters tell us what they have done, what they intend to do, and what they think. But they never do anything. Guarini felt his *Arcadia* as little as Ariosto had felt his chivalry. "This century," says Guarini, "is a century of appearances and one

goes about the whole of the year with a mask on one's face." Guarini talks about love and the pastoral life. From Guarini onwards the stolen kiss is the commonplace of Arcadia:

Quello e morto bacio a cui
 la baciata belta bacio non rende.
 Ma i colpi di due labbra innamorate,
 quando a ferir si va bocca con bocca—
 son veri baci, ove con giuste voglie
 tanto si dona altrui quanto si toglie.
 Baci pur bocca curiosa e scaltra
 o seno a fronte o mano; unqua non fia
 che parte alcuna in bella donna baci,
 che baciatrice sia,
 se non la bocca, ove l' un' alma e l' altra
 corre e si bacia anch' ella, e con vivaci
 spiriti lellegrini
 da vita al bel tesoro
 de' bacianti rubini;
 sicchi parlan tra loro
 quegli animanti e spiritosi baci
 gran cose in picciol suano—
 Tal gioia amando prova, anzi tal vita
 Alma con alma unita;
 e son come d' amor baci baciati
 gl' incontri di due cori amanti amati

When the kissed beauty does not return the kiss, then the kiss is nothing but a dead thing. But the kiss in which two loving mouths rush eagerly to wound each other with love is a true kiss where both lovers with equal desire give back as much as they steal. A kiss given from curiosity or with cunning, may fall on a bosom or a forehead, or a hand, but never on any part of a beautiful woman that is capable of kissing back again. But when the kiss is on her lips then soul runs to meet soul, and each kisses the other with exquisite ardor. The lover warms those lovely kissing rubies into life; and those burning, living kisses speak to each other and say great things with small sound. And when a soul is joined to a soul there is such a feeling of joy, or rather such an

awakening of life from loving, that the
meeting of two loving and loved hearts is
like a kissed kiss of love.

Bocca baciata a forza
se 'l bacio sputa, ogni vergogna
ammorza.

When a mouth is kissed by force, if
it spits out the kiss, all the shame of
it is removed.

The performances of these plays took place upon a temporary stage in palaces and also in nuns' convents. Raffaello, Baldassare Peruzzi, and Vasari often prepared magnificent scenic appliances. Intermezzos consisting of songs and dances and buffoonery or sometimes pompous mythological tales were inserted between the acts. Besides these intermittent performances by chance actors, the sixteenth century witnessed the foundation of durable theatres and the formation of permanent companies of players; and the drama now became a part of the city life. By the order of Cardinal Ercole, the architect Bertani in 1549 built a magnificent theatre in Mantua. It was semicircular in form, with the seats for the audience rising in tiers. With the performance of the *Pastor fido* there closes that epoch of the classic Italian theatre which began with the *Orfeo* (1471) and which is both pastoral and heroic, and popular and courtly. And after the close of this century of licentious literature, there came a reaction. Literature became religious, moral, epic, and tragic, but it lacked sincerity.

Fra Paolo Sarpi (1552-1623), the "greatest of the Venetians" (Gibbon), died over three hundred years ago. His classic work *The History of the Council of Trent* was first published in London in 1619. The manuscript containing his final corrections, now in St. Mark's library in Venice, has never been published. Acquapendente called him "the oracle of this century." This "greatest genius of his age" was "holden for a miracle in all manner of knowledge divine and human." And yet, writes Sir Henry Walton, he was "one of the humblest things that could be seen within the bounds of humanity." Venice committed all its interest to Sarpi's guidance, and while he lived Venetian history was an unbroken series of triumphs.

Fra Paolo Sarpi was born in Venice on the 14th of August 1552, and was baptized Pietro. His father Francesco died in Venice leaving his wife, his son Pietro, and a daughter, in poverty. Don Ambrogio Morelli, Sarpi's uncle, a priest and schoolmaster, took Pietro into his home and educated him. On November 24, 1565, when thirteen years old, Sarpi was received into a large and wealthy monastery of the Servite Order, and exchanged his name Pietro for Paolo. The next day after Paolo had joined the Servites, he was appointed their youngest debating champion. The huge auditorium building was filled with an amazed audience, when thirteen-year-old Paolo overcame all disputants. At the age of eighteen Paolo was appointed professor of Positive Theology in Mantua, and Duke Guglielmo attached him to his court as his private theologian.

In April 1579 when twenty-seven years old, Fra Paolo Sarpi was elected a provincial of his Order. He was the youngest friar ever elected to this office, and was made president of the commission of three who were charged with correcting the disorders of the Servite houses. Fra Fulgenzio Miccanzio's biography of Fra Paolo gives a full account of his writings, and this biography is preserved in manuscript in the library of St. Mark's. Sarpi discovered the valves of the veins and so, perhaps, anticipated Harvey. Harvey's work was published in 1628, five years after Fra Paolo's death. Harvey attended medical lectures at Padua in which Acquapendente declares that Sarpi revealed his discovery of the valves of the veins. Sarpi first prepared maps of the moon and assisted Galileo in the construction of the telescope presented to Doge Leonardo Donato. Porto says, "I do not blush to confess that many things concerning magnetic phenomena I have learned from Fra Paolo, a true ornament of light not only of Venice, but of Italy and of the whole world." Galileo declared, "No one in Europe surpasses Master Paolo Sarpi in the knowledge of the science of mathematics."

Sarpi made jurisprudence his own. In metaphysics he wrote a treatise called *L'Arte di Ben Pensare* (The Art of Thinking Well). Lord Macaulay declared that Fra Paolo anticipated Locke in the sphere of metaphysics. He was a metallurgist and chemist, was versed in architecture, and great military commanders consulted him about the construction of forts and ramparts. During the seventeen years when the whole of the affairs of the Venetian Republic was in Fra Paolo's hands, cruelty, wholesale poisoning, murder, and licentious-

ness were laid to the charge of two priests in high position. The Venetian Senate imprisoned the offenders. Pope Paul V demanded their release. Fra Paolo denied the Pope's right to interfere in the civil affairs of the Republic and on the 17th of April 1606 all Venetia was excommunicated and became accursed. The churches were locked, allegiance to the government was ended. By Sarpi's orders a protest against the Pope's action was given to all priests of Venice, and the ecclesiastics were required to obey the commands of the Venetian state. Thus was the Pope's interdict discredited, and the dignity of Venice enhanced. The Pope yielded. It was agreed that the Republic might punish priests. Jesuits were banished from the State. Cardinal de Joyeuse accepted these conditions in the name of Pope Paul V and diplomatic relations were reestablished with the Vatican. Now came the assassin's knife. The evening of October 5th when Fra Paolo was returning home, he was attacked by five ruffians, received fifteen dagger thrusts of which the last entered his right temple. For three weeks his life hung in the balance. The assassins escaped to Rome and were lodged in sanctuary, and a thousand ducats were paid them.

In 1610 Fra Paolo published *A History of Ecclesiastical Benefices*, in which he traced the story of ecclesiastical benefices during sixteen centuries. Fra Paolo advocated the stripping of the Pope and Curia of all their temporalities. Gibbon speaks highly of this work. Hallam says, "The treatise '*Delle Materie Beneficiarie*' can never be read without delight and admiration of the author's skill."

The following year, in *The Origin, Forms, Laws, Customs, and Uses of the Inquisition in the City and Dominion of Venice*, Fra Paolo showed how the Venetian Republic thwarted every attempt to set up the Inquisition; how the sanctuaries in Rome were nests for outlaws and criminals and everywhere in Italy put a premium on crime. Fra Paolo's *The System of Education Given by the Jesuits* proves that "never from their schools came forth a son obedient to his father, loving to his country, and dutiful to his prince"; that the Catholic reaction was induced chiefly through the Jesuits, who conquered wills and consciences and controlled the education of the young. The "double conscience" was invented by the Jesuits. "Probable opinion" will justify any action. A confessor must give absolution to a penitent who has acted on a "probable opinion." A judge may free a personal friend though guilty, if he acts on a "probable

opinion." A physician may poison a patient if he acts on a "probable opinion," providing that it can be done without scandal. "Nothing is wrong in itself but scandal might be harmful."

An action is good if the end it serves is good. To drown a heretical boy in a river in order to baptize him is commendable; the body is killed but the soul is saved. For a seducer to murder his victim is commendable if through discovery his reputation would suffer. According to the doctrine of *reservatio et restrictio mentalis* (mental reservation), an oath is not binding if the person interprets the words in his own way. It is not a lie to say "I have not murdered my father," provided that you add some mental reservation such as, "I certainly did not murder him, before he was born." With such facile morality, the Jesuits had a large following. They knew their century.

The central figure of the whole of this movement for liberty was Paolo Sarpi. His *Storia del concilio di Trento* was the most serious historical work that had yet been written in Italy. The Council of Trent was the Middle Ages revived, modernized. To expose its worldliness was to attack the evil at its root. Sarpi's strength lay in moderation and sincerity. The true historian acknowledges no authority whatsoever; he studies everything, and he listens to everything, and finally decides. But not for a moment does Fra Paolo Sarpi consider himself less a Catholic for these opinions.

To his "History of the Council of Trent" Fra Paolo brought exceptional qualifications. Bishop Boldrino, the Duke Gonzaga, and Camillo Olivo of Cremona attended the Council of Trent and told Fra Paolo how that assembly was packed by mercenaries in the Pope's pay. Everywhere the work was recognized as a standard history. Carlo Botta, the Italian historian, writes: "The History of the Tridentine Council is one of the most manly and robust works that was ever produced by human genius. Here are things, facts, reasons, nothing else." Gibbon calls Sarpi "the incomparable Historian of the Council of Trent." On Sunday the 15th of January 1623, in the 71st year of his age, Fra Paolo Sarpi, the greatest of the Venetians, died.

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CHAPTER XXVIII

Bruno, Campanella, Galileo

TOGETHER with a new literature the sixteenth century developed a new philosophy, in disguised opposition to Catholic theology and Aristotelianism. Bernardino Telesio (1509–1588) of the Academy of Sosenza, Francesco Patrizi of Cherso, and Marion Nizzoli (1498–1575) of Modena disputed the teachings of Aristotle and Plato. The new philosophers rejected Catholicism, Christianity, and God. They declared that humanism and naturalism heralded the dawn. But in Italy this negation was chiefly rhetorical. Then came foreign political subjection, the Council of Trent, the Inquisition, education by the Jesuits, and “conformity.” Italy was empty of God, country, family, empty even of negation; and the best intellects were leaving Italy. Giordano Bruno (1550–1600) is the first modern philosopher. He knew the Greek philosophers, he favored Pythagoras, he hated Aristotle, but the Inquisition functioned, and Bruno, a Dominican friar, fled to Geneva, to Toulouse, to Lyons, and to Paris. In Paris he published (1582) a comedy *Il Candelaio* (The Candlebearer), which we have considered elsewhere. The scene is laid in Naples; the conception is the eternal war between dupes and sharpers. The moral of his comedy is that nothing is secure; that there is much that is evil, little that is beautiful, and nothing that is good. Bruno calls himself “*accademico di nulla accademia, detto il Fastidito*,” an “Academician of no Academy at all, known as the Disgusted One.”

In London, Bruno published *Explicatio triginata sigillorum* with a preface entitled *Recens et completa ars reminiscendi*. In this new concept, the theologico-philosophical dualism of the Middle Ages is replaced by an absolute unity. Democritus and Epicurus asserted that matter is divine essence, and that forms are accidental dispositions of matter. Bruno believed that Nature consists of form and matter; the “power to make” and the “power to be made.” There is only one intellect, one principle, which gives universal life. God is the supreme power, the life of lives, the soul of souls, the being of beings, the

Revealer. Since "He who is" is absolute, He cannot be grasped by mortal intellect.

Bruno's philosophy rejects the Middle Ages, populated by "universals." "If God is not Nature, He is the nature of Nature; if He is not the soul of the world, He is the soul of the soul of the world; He is a question for faith, not a part of cognition." Each individual person possesses God:

Lasciate l'ombra, ed abbracciate il vero,
non cangiate il presente col futuro,
Voi siete il veltro che nel rio trabocca,
mentre l'ombra desia di quel c' ha in bocca.
Aviso non fu mai di saggio e scaltro,
A che cercate sì lungi diviso,
se in voi stessi trovate il paradiso?

Leave the shadows and embrace the substance;
change not the present for the future. You
are like the dog in the fable that let the
meat fall into the river while he desired the
shadow of that which he held in his mouth.
It was never yet the counsel of a wise or
shrewd person to lose one good in order to get
another. Why do you go so far off to search for
a Paradise when you have found a paradise in your
selves?

God is in us; and to possess God is to possess ourselves. The intellect and the will give us God. Bruno's formula is "I will to will."

Da soggetto piu vil divegno un dio . . .
Mi cangio in Dio da cosa inferiore.

From vilest subject I become a god . . .
From being an inferior thing I change
myself into God.

God becomes visible by natural light; and to possess this truth is the aim of life. Descartes, Spinoza, and Malebranche mingle in Bruno's mind. He rejects scholasticism, but keeps some of its methods. He hates mysticism, yet he is most mystical.

Bruno says, "God is more intimate to thee than thou art to thyself." In Bruno the heavens are divine, nature is divine, the knowable

God replaces the abstract God. Bruno's universe is nature discovering itself. Bruno restores God to man. What Savonarola attempted through faith, Bruno attempts through science. His God pervades his intellect, his will, his feelings, and his love. He begins an unbeliever, he ends a believer. Bruno was the colossal figure on the threshold of the modern world. His *De Immenso* and his *De l'Infinito universo et mundi* gave currency to the philosophical results of the new astronomy.

Rome burned Bruno, Paris burned Vanini (1585-1619); both were called atheists. Yet God was a serious thing to these men. "Let us go to our deaths like philosophers," said Vanini as he approached the stake. Bruno was burned and Campanella was tortured. Yet Bruno said, "To die in one century makes one to live in all the centuries to come." Campanella compared the philosopher with Christ. Telesio (1509-1588) said, "Human knowledge when it has once observed everything, and has understood everything, will have arrived at the highest point it can grasp."

In a little Calabrian monastery, Tommaso Campanella (1568-1639) found liberty. He loved Telesio, he hated Aristotle. When Campanella and Galileo met in Florence, Galileo, the author of the *Magia naturale* and the *Fisionomia*, already was famous, but Campanella was unknown. Baccio Valori wrote, "In Rome they are trying to prohibit the philosophy of Telesio, claiming that it is prejudicial to the scholastic philosophy founded on Aristotle; and he [Campanella] having spoken against this philosophy runs some risk from the said school."

Campanella retorted with a new defense of Telesio.

Campanella was a light in the universal darkness, trying to reconcile the Middle Ages with the modern world. Starting from Telesio he ended in St. Thomas. Natural science, occult science, theology, metaphysics, astronomy, physics, physiology—they are all in the writings of Campanella. It is a first attempt at constructing the tree of knowledge. Campanella was condemned as a heretic and a rebel, was kept prisoner twenty-seven years, and tortured seven times.

Sei e sei anni che 'n pena dispenso
l'afflizion d' ogni senso
le membra sette volte tormentate,
le bestemmie e le favole di' sciocchi,
il sol negato agli occhi,

i nervi stratti, l'ossa scontinuate,
le polpe lacerate,
l guai dove mi corco,
le ferri, il sangue sparso e 'l timor crudo
e 'l cibo poco e sporco.

Six and six years I have spent in pain,
with my every sense afflicted, and my limbs
tortured seven times, and compelled to listen
to the blasphemies and lies of fools; and the
sun denied to my eyes, my nerves stretched, my
bones disjoined, my flesh torn; with nastiness
where I lie, with iron chains hung on me, with
blood flowing and with cruel fear, and with
little to eat and filthy at that.

With Campanella and Bruno, rationalism and neo-Catholicism begin.

Galileo (1564-1643) was born at Pisa on February 15, 1564. He was educated at Florence and at Vallombrosa. In 1581 he studied medicine at Pisa, but afterward studied mathematics and natural science. In 1583 the oscillations of a lamp in the Cathedral of Pisa, measured by his pulse beats, revealed to him the isochronisms of the pendulum. Poverty obliged Galileo to leave Pisa (1585) for Florence where he lectured on Dante's *Inferno* (1588) and studied. In 1589 he returned to Pisa, taught mathematics in the university, and continued his investigations of the relations between force and velocity and the law of inertia. By experiments, made from the top of the leaning tower of Pisa, he demonstrated the laws governing falling bodies.

In his pamphlet *De motu gravum*, published in 1590, thirty years before Francis Bacon's *Novum organum*, and nearly half a century before René Descartes's *Discours de la méthode* (1637), Galileo insisted on the doctrine of rigid experimentation. In 1592 Galileo left Pisa for the University of Padua, where he spent eighteen happy years, writing and lecturing on mechanics, hydraulics, military architecture, and cosmography. Here he invented the proportional compass and a thermoscope, and here he perfected the telescope (1609), discovered the inequality of the moon's surface, and observed many fixed stars and the nature of the Milky Way and the nebulae and four of Jupiter's satellites (January 7-10, 1610). He wrote of these "great and highly wonderful views" in the *Nuncius Sidereus*. "I render

thanks unto God who has been pleased to make me the first, sole observer of such wonderful things, kept secret from all the centuries," runs a letter of January 1610.

The same year he discovered Saturn's ring (*Saturno tergemino*), the phases of Venus, and the sun's solar spots. In September 1610, he was nominated first mathematician in the University of Pisa, and personal mathematician and philosopher to the Grand Duke Cosimo II. He was feted and acclaimed at Rome, and was present at the solemn confirmation of the truth of his discoveries, by a Jesuit, in the hall of the *Collegio Romano*. Pope Paolo received him with favor, and the Lincei Academy enrolled him among its members. The discovery of the satellites of Jupiter established the theory enunciated by Copernicus in the *De revolutionibus orbium celestium* in 1543. This the theologians opposed as an attack on the integrity of faith. The doctrine of the earth's movement was solemnly condemned by the Inquisition on February 24, 1616, and Cardinal Bellarmino admonished Galileo to abandon it. Galileo was silent for seven years, till a discussion upon comets, between a pupil of his and the Jesuit Orazio Grassi, induced him to write the *Saggiatore*, which was printed by the Lincei Academy in Rome in 1623. With conclusive arguments he showed the fallacy of his adversary's theories on the nature and movement of comets. The Jesuit was defeated, but his Order hated Galileo for his victory.

Shortly before the *Saggiatore* was published, Cardinal Maffeo Barberini, a friend and an admirer of Galileo, was elected as Pope Urban VIII (1623-1644), and in 1630 Galileo was allowed to print the *Dialogo de' Massimi sistemi*. Galileo was summoned to appear before the tribunal of the Inquisition. He arrived in Rome (1633) an old man, weak, ill, and nearly blind. Prostrated by the long interrogations and the menace of torture, Galileo recanted the Copernican doctrine. In 1636 Galileo dictated and published the *Dialoghi delle nuove scienze* in which he treated of "local motion" and "the resistance made by solid bodies to rupture by violence." He thus collected into one work the fundamental doctrines of modern dynamics. He died January 8, 1642. Galileo was one of the greatest Italian prose writers. Using the dialogue form in his two monumental works the *Massimi sistemi* and the *Nuove scienze*, Galileo was simple, vigorous, and graphic. He fashioned the language anew, but preserved the spontaneity and vivacity of the Tuscan tongue.

CHAPTER XXIX

Seventeenth Century

THE peace of Câteau-Cambrésis (1559) arrested the progress of Italy for a hundred and forty years. Sad indeed was her condition at the beginning of the seventeenth century. Despoiled of goods, deprived of honor, covered with wounds, tormented, oppressed, her farms uncultivated, her towns burnt, castles demolished, cities sacked, the inhabitants slain, foreign mercenaries devastating, Barbary corsairs plundering, monopolies hampering, virgins ravished, widows dishonored, churches violated, holy things contaminated—fire, sword, and cruelty were everywhere, and pestilence and famine attacked the land. Over Naples, Sicily, Sardinia, the Milanese province, the state of the Presidi and in Tuscany were extended, as Tassoni said in the *Secchia rapita*, “the wings of the eagle of the great king of the ocean”; that is, the Spaniard, whose rapacious eyes regarded the rest of the peninsula, seeking further prey. The states of the Church were without arms. Tuscany was threatened by the spear of Sardinia.

The duchies of Parma, Modena, and Urbino were in the pay of the Spaniards. The talons of Spain menaced Monferrato from Milan. Venice alone remained free, but the Turk on the east and the Spaniard on the west threatened her vitals. Thus Tasso described Italy in the first of his *Filippiche* (Philippics). In Naples the laws’ confusion, and the dishonesty of judges, punished the innocent and freed the guilty. In the Papal States bribery and influence were the sole passports to high office. Justice was bought. Count Don Pietro d’Aragona, viceroy of Naples, divided the papal court into accomplices of France and accomplices of Spain. Alexander VII’s pontificate was as ignominious as that of Alexander VI. It could not have been worse.

The young gallants were fops, debauchees, cheats, and slanderers; lascivious gluttons and cruel, whose hands surrounded the dice, whose feet turned to brothels or to churches, in order to there transport all abominations. The fashionable youth slept until noon, his hair flowed loosely over his shoulders, he was decked with sashes and

ribbons, rouge was on his cheeks, pomatum on his hands, and roses were on his shoes. In their diplomatic rivalry, foreign governments made secret use of robbers. Bandits hid in the monasteries, and the monks shared their booty. Greed of governors, tyranny of nobles, immorality of the clergy, everywhere prevailed. Holy orders freed men from the law and from taxes. In Calabria lay clergy married. Vice flourished in Italy and paid for its privilege.

Italy was crushed by servitude, brutalized by ignorance, superstition, and belief in magic and in witches. Malignant spirits entered the human body and many persons worshiped Satan as Lord. Friars and monks without number crowded the monasteries and many of these were malefactors seeking convent shelter from the law. In 1600 the population of Padua was thirty thousand, but there were twenty-three convents and twenty-six monasteries. Manzoni's *Promessi Sposi* describes the Milanese province under Spanish misrule; and Masaniello pictures unhappy Naples under the Spanish viceroys. It was an Italian proverb, "The Spanish ministers nibbled in Sicily, ate in Naples, and devoured in Milan."

The frivolous and corrupt Italian nobles tolerated the bad government that encouraged their arrogance and guaranteed their privileges. The middle classes languished and the plebs were brutalized. Yet never was there greater luxury in dress, more splendid festivals, and more magnificent decoration of the palaces. The Paduan council (May 11, 1619) prohibited women from wearing cloth of gold or silver, or sables, martens or black fox, and from being accompanied by more than one servant in the street. Men were forbidden gold-handled swords and jewels, and gilded coaches.

Was the Italian *secento* an age of absolute decadence? It was not. Evil was widespread, but it was not universal. There were some philosophers, there was some patriotism. A few fervid voices still strove to rouse Italians from torpor. Giordano Bruno ascended the pyre in Campo dei Fiori; and Tommaso Campanella languished for twenty-seven years in a horrible prison. In 1607 liberty-loving Fra Paolo Sarpi was wounded nigh to death. In 1619, Giulio Cesare Vanini was burnt. In 1622 the Holy Office forced Galileo to abjure his doctrines.

But a new philosophy was searching for truth, and in letters and arts there was innovation. *Secento* melodrama was wholly Italian, and Italian *Commedia dell'Arte* was now firmly established. Some Italian princes protected culture and the fine arts. Chiabrera, Marino, Tas-

soni, Testi, were honored by the grand dukes of Tuscany, who also gave liberally to the universities. Cosimo II, Ferdinando II, and Cosimo III patronized scientists and scholars. The Estensi and Farnesi and Urban VIII and Alexander VII protected arts and letters. In 1603 the academy of the *Lincci* was founded for the study of science, and in Florence in 1657 Leopoldo de' Medici founded the *Cimento* for scientific investigations. In 1582 the Florentine Academy of the *Crusca* undertook the compilation of an Italian dictionary, which was printed in 1612 and reprinted in 1623. This vogue for Academies is a seventeenth century phenomenon. There were grave and solemn academies and there were other, joyous gatherings of good friends.

Ferdinando II of Tuscany endowed the *Tolomei* and the *Cicognini* schools of Siena and Prato. The University of Rome enjoyed the protection of Alexander VII. Padua University maintained its renown. Bologna University continued its splendid traditions. The Tuscan grand dukes enriched the Medicean Laurentian library and the gallery of antiquities; the Vatican library received notable additions. Paul V collected Greek and Latin codices, and so founded the famous Borghese library. Cardinal Francesco Barberini, nephew of Urban VIII, and Cardinal Ottoboni, nephew of Alexander VIII, were munificent. The Marucelliana library at Florence originated in the eighteenth century. In 1603 Cardinal Borromeo founded the Ambrosiana library in Milan. The Brancacciana, collected in Rome by Cardinal Brancaccio, and by his will transported to Naples, was opened to the public in 1690. Toward the end of the seventeenth century Florentine Antonio Magliabechi (1633-1714) collected a library.

Toward the close of the sixteenth century, excessive embellishment dominated Italian literature. Aurora was the "beautiful nurse of the meadows," rising "from purple feathers to succor with celestial secretions the grass and the plants and the flowers" (*Adone*, ca. 150). A preaching friar, wrapped in his cloak, became "a vocal mantle, a terrifying cowl, a burning fire, a dark cloud, thundering terrors, a breathing penitence, a sack of accusations emptied upon the sinner." This was called *secentismo*.

From the *Ninfale fiesolano* and the *Ameto* to Molza's and Tansillo's little epico-lyric poems, from Poliziano's *Stanze* to Ariosto's and Tasso's episodes, from Pontano's *Lepida* to Navagero's and

Flaminio's epigrams, from Sannazaro's *Arcadia* to *Aminta* and the *Pastor fido*, men wearied with war and without religion or morality found refuge in an imaginary world which was filled with pagan idylls. When an imposed faith succeeded scepticism, when the double pall of Spanish and papal oppression had smothered Italy, and poetry Renaissance had become voluptuously pagan, then *secentismo* and mannerism became overwhelming. Euphuism in England, *le style précieux* in France, Gongorism in Spain, were similar phenomena. Soul vacuity, virtuosity, and affectation characterized the century. The mysticism of the Middle Ages, the aestheticism of the Renaissance, now became a *Leitmotiv* for melodious variations; religion, morality, and patriotism forsook the souls of men. Marshlight imitation illuminated empty pages.

Elaborate forms of composition, classic spoils abound, the words differ, the refrain is the same, "I'm but a stranger here, earth is a desert drear, heaven is my home." Born at Savona in 1552, Chiabrera's youth was spent in a Jesuit school at Rome. Returning to Savona in 1581, pensioned by the dukes of Tuscany, friendly with the dukes of Mantua and honored by Pope Urban VIII and by the republic of Genoa, Chiabrera lived there until his death on October 14, 1638. His enchanting *canzonette* proceed from Horace and foretell Parini. The rhythm is restful, the locution is pure, the style limpid. His short chivalric phantasies praise beauty and love and lovely nature, and his *canzonette* found many imitators.

A hot genius, a restless soul, circumstances thrust Fulvio Testi of Ferrara (1593-1646) into a courtier's life. In 1628 Testi became state secretary to Alfonso III of Este, and under his government and that of his successor Francesco I, he was continually employed upon important affairs of state. He was arrested for treason, shut up in that fortress of Modena which he had helped to build, and died there August 1646. Testi's *canzoni* resemble Horatian odes, severe moral sentences, teaching that worldly rewards cannot give true happiness. Chiabrera has richer ornament and warmth of color, but Testi has greater breadth, more essence of content.

Toute société a la poésie qu'elle mérite. That supreme master of words Giambattista Marino (Cavaliere Marino) (1569-1625), who epitomizes *secentismo*, was born at Naples in 1569, and before he was twenty he wrote those *canzoni* "which taught the art of kissing well" (*Lira*, iii, 46). Exiled from home for immorality and impris-

oned in the horrible *Cammerone* for aiding a friend in abducting a young girl, he escaped to Rome, revised his verses, and published them in Venice (1602). In 1603 Marino returned to Rome under protection of Cardinal Aldobrandini. For eight years Marino resided in Paris at the court of Maria de' Medici, and was admired, applauded, and caressed. He again returned to Rome, was elected chief of the *Umoristi*, and after squeezing every last pleasure out of life he repented his sins and died at Naples on the 25th of March 1625. Dukes, counts, marquesses and barons, cavaliers and gentlemen of the city and *regno*, carried lighted candles in the funeral procession, and great crowds followed.

Marino was Italy's greatest poetic virtuoso. Of copious imagination, rich in form, but empty of content, Marion wraps the erotic furies of his *Strage degl'innocenti* in allegory. His *Adone* praises sensual love. Phantasies gathered from a thousand sources were copied into Marino's commonplace book and then worked over into a poem. Love dominates Marino's Lyric.

Every beauty whom I see
O'er my heart holds tyranny;
Every courteous glance I meet
Rouses me to fire and heat;
Thus by degrees, in my desire
The food I am of every fire.*

Amid the vicissitudes of love, the cruelty of the woman, and the ardor of the lover, this virtuoso moves dexterously.

His verse is facile, his rhyme is ready, his vein is abundant, his madrigals glitter; waves murmur in moonlight, shimmer in the sun; nymphs sport in water; breezes blow softly (iv, 40), poetry bubbles, soft accents echo. Marino's *Sampogna* woodland sonnets, shepherds' lamentations, memories of rural pleasures, invocations to the nightingale and to love—all are presented in voluptuous verses, borrowed from Greek, Latin, Italian, French, and Spanish writers.

Adone, Adone, o bell' Adon, tu giaci
ne senti i miei sospir, ne miri il pianto.
O bell' Adone, o caro Adon, tu taci
ne rispondi a colei ch' amasti tanto!
Lasciami, lascia imporporare i baci,

* *Lira*, iii, 87.

anima cara, in questo sangue alquanto;
arresta olvolò, aspetta tanto almeno
che'l mio spirto immortal ti mora in seno.

Adonis, Adonis, O lovely Adonis, thou liest
here and dost not hear my sighs nor see my tears.
O lovely Adonis, O loved Adonis, thou art silent
and dost not answer me, whom thou lovest so dearly!
O my dearest soul, let me, let me stain my kisses
purple in thy blood; O stay thy flight but a
little, wait but a little while, wait till my
deathless spirit shall die on thy breast.

This *Adone*, a poem of more than five thousand *ottave*, was published in 1623 at Paris and dedicated to Maria de' Medici, queen of France. Melodious meters, antitheses, metaphors, episodes, description, digressions, overwhelm the story. Marino gave this corrupt age its most finished expression. His lewdness, his extravagant metaphors, reveal the aberration of a civilized society without a past and with no hope of a future. The seventeenth century regurgitated *canzonieri*; amorous, heroic, lugubrious rhymes, madrigals, and mythological idylls, fashioned, like Marino's, by poets who exaggerated the banalities of the master.

Industrious Benedetto Menzini plagiarized Tasso, imitated Petrarch, and gathered honey everywhere. Though the lyric verse of Vincenzo da Filicaia (1642-1707) is sonorous, it is often stifled by rhetoric, and overflowing with Petrarchian and Dantescan reminiscences, and borrowings from Tasso and Ariosto. His *canzoni* on the siege of Vienna and the defeat of the Turkish army, the *canzone E pure, Italia, e pure* and the sonnet *Italia, Italia, o tu cui feo la sorte* and *Dov'è Italia, il tuo braccio e a che ti servi?* are commonplace. Da Filicaia died in 1707. Guidi, born at Pavia in 1650, and living at the court of Ranuccio II, duke of Parma in 1685, died at Frascati in 1712. His first lyrics were published at Parma in 1681, but later he gave to the *canzone* the form which was afterwards used by Leopardi. The harmonic cadences of Guidi's verses delight the ear, but they are poor in thoughts.

The *secento* epic poets imitated the *Gerusalemme*. Francesco Bracciolini (1566-1646) of Pistoia wrote *La Croce riacquistata* (1611). In Girolamo Graziani's (1604-1675) *Conquista di Granata* (1650) romance and epic elements are happily united, the verse runs

easily and occasionally there is poetry. Of Ottavio Rinuccini (1564–1621), Chiabrera writes, "He versified sonorously and with sound judgment, he culled the flowers of celebrated compositions and was sustained by a tenacious memory." Rinuccini was a courtier; in 1600 he repaired to France in the train of Maria de' Medici, and many of his rhymes sing the praises of the kings and princes and lords of France; but he also has poems delicate in thought and of exquisite style.

Of the seventeenth century, also, the architect Lorenzo Bernini (1598–1680) made skillful use of perspective in the stupendous colonnade of Piazza S. Pietro (1667) and the *Scala Regia* in the Vatican. His muscular figures flutter draperies and sometimes express majesty as in the statues of Urban VIII and Alexander VII. Rome's solemn magnificence is largely due to Bernini's palaces, statues, mausoleums, and fountains. It is his imitators that give the baroque style its bad reputation. The seventeenth century Bolognese painters the Carracci brothers tried to return to the noble traditions of the *cinquecento* painting. Annibale Carracci (1560–1609) pointed the way to the school of Guido Reni.

Alessandro Tassoni (1565–1635), after teaching in Bologna and Ferrara and Rome, in 1632 was called to Modena by Duke Francesco I, and there he died in 1635. Tassoni's *Secchia rapita* is a poem in *ottave* of twelve *canti* printed in Paris in 1622. The poem describes the war of 1325 between the Bolognese and the Modenese; the episode of the rape of the bucket is only in part historical. In the *Secchia rapita* there is vivacity, but the humor is superficial. The *Scherno degli Dei* by Francesco Bracciolini is a burlesque representation of the adventures of Venus and Vulcan and other pagan divinities. The style is spontaneous, the language elegant. Salvator Rosa (1615–1673) personified *secento* lack of sense of proportion. A libertine, he sought to purify morals. Born at Arenella near Naples in 1615, at twenty-three he acquired at Rome a reputation as an artist, painting solitary and stormy landscapes and great battle scenes. In Florence in 1640–1649 he worked and amused himself in the company of poets, artists, and scientists. He died in Rome in 1673. Rosa fiercely satirized musical virtuosi "fruitful in all licentiousness and dishonor." Then he analyzed the immorality and artificiality of contemporary poetry and theorized as to painting.

Giovanni Ciampoli, born in Florence in 1590, was proud, disdain-

ful, given to gossip and slander. After twelve years' service as secretary to two popes, he was removed from his canonship and died in 1643. Ciampoli opposed Petrarchism and imitated Pindar. His lyrics are windy. Ansaldo Ceba was born at Genoa in 1565, he studied poetics and philosophy at the University of Padua. He wrote frivolous erotic verses. Having returned to Genoa in 1591 and been received into the Academy of the *Addormentati* (Sleepers), his academic lessons attracted attention. The poems of Ceba, issued in 1661, ask pardon of God, the Virgin, or some Saint, for his youthful errors. His *canzoni* of Petrarchian type possess slight merit. Ceba had few qualities of a true poet; he lacked imagination and color and too often assumed the preacher's tone.

CHAPTER XXX

Seventeenth Century Tragedy

SEVENTEENTH century Italian tragedy was declamatory. From the French theatre it borrowed Alexandrine meter in rhymed couplets called *Martelliani*. Scipione Maffei's (1675-1755) tragedy *Merope* was loudly applauded at Modena in 1713. Like Trissino's *Sofonisba*, Giraldi's *Orbecche*, and Speroni's *Canace* it respects the three unities and the division into five acts. It preserves to the chorus its office of *confidante*, and incests and slaughters abound. The ghost recites the preceding events, and nuncios, messengers, and captains discourse. In other tragedies, brothers love their sisters, fathers their daughters, parents are murdered, men pass for women, women are believed to be men, and the resemblance between certain characters facilitates substitution.

"Simple" *secento* tragedies are few. *Sacre rappresentazioni*, such as the *Adamo* (Milan, 1613) and the *Maddalena* (Mantua, 1617) of Giambattista Andreini, are survivors from the fifteenth century. The *Maddalena* begins by relating her sinful past and then describes her conversion and entrance into heaven. Licentious scenic show and music abound in this play. Milton's *Paradise Lost* may owe something to Andreini's *Adamo*. In the *implesse* or *invilupate*, which is the usual type of seventeenth century tragedy, the plot is complicated, but the *piano e semplicissimo* type is without entanglements. *Creso* is a tragedy composed by Cardinal Delfino, in which the characters all talk too much. Ansaldo Ceba's tragedies, *Principessa Silandra* (Genoa, 1621), *Alcippo* (Genoa, 1623), and *Gemelle capovane*, belong to the *appassionate* class.

Better than the tragedies of Ceba is the *Aristodemo* (Padua, 1657) of Carlo Dottori. The Delphic oracle has declared that the virgin daughter of an Epitide must be immolated to placate the angry gods. Arena's name is drawn from the fatal urn. Lisco conceals Arena and declares that she has been killed by an arrow. Her mother Aufia, her bridegroom Policare, and her nurse spread the false report that Merope, Aristodemo's supposedly virgin daughter, is about to be

come a mother. After Aristodemo has killed her, he discovers that he has murdered both his daughters, for Arena is the fruit of his youthful relations with the priestess Erasitea. In his despair Aristodemo stabs himself with the sword which is still stained with Merope's blood.

Tragedies in verse were popular in the seventeenth century, but some writers used prose. Agostino Michiele's *Cianippo* (Bergamo, 1506) is in prose. The *Zenobia di Radamisto* by Carlo Dottori is in prose, and has a happy ending. These *favole all'italiano* were preferred to genuine tragedies. Tassoni, in Book X of his *Pensieri diversi*, says, "In pastorals, where sweetness and languor are required, our poets have so excelled that the most beautiful compositions of the ancients do not equal them." Guidobaldo Bonarelli (1563-1608) was born in Urbino. His *Filli di Sciro* produced at Ferrara in 1607 is the most beautiful Italian pastoral of the seventeenth century. The style is elegant, the construction is harmonious; Celia, the happy shepherdess, loved Niso and Aminta with equal ardor, and resolved to die to escape so singular a situation.

The Jesuit schools produced many pedantic tragedies. The *canovacci* (outlines) or *scenari* which have survived suggest *Commedia dell'Arte*. All seventeenth century Jesuitical tragedy is educational. In Scammacca's tragedy, Orestes kills both his mother Clytemnestra and also Egisto. When Menelaus returns to Argo he meets and embraces his nephew Orestes, who insists that his mother's death was necessary in order to appease his father Agamemnon's shade, and also to restrain the criminal audacity of women. Electra and Orestes are condemned to death. Pilades and Orestes attack Menelaus' house, slay Helen, and seize and drag Ermione as a hostage to Orestes' house. Orestes now declares that unless the Senate and people revoke his sentence of death, he will slay Ermione before her father's eyes. Menelaus agrees. And now the earth quakes, the earth opens, dead Pluto appears, then Helen, who has become a rotting corpse. Pluto summons Electra and Orestes, and restores Ermione to Menelaus.

The Signora Miani was perhaps the first Italian woman to compose a tragedy. In her *Celinda* (1611) the oracle predicts that Fulco, king of Persia, will find his missing son Autilio in Lydia. Autilio has been sold as an Irish female slave to Cubo, who is Celinda's father. Princess Celinda loves the pretended slave. "Love, which conspired to my hurt, also ministered to my shame. Where feigned 'Lucinia' on soft

cushions lay languishing; having stripped myself of my rich dress, by her I laid me down and now her white face, now her neck caressing, I made a chain round her with my arms. But she perceiving the near danger drew back within herself. But so much I said and did, that my right hand I put forth underneath her fair bosom and then became aware that it was not like mine, with breasts adorned." What follows can be imagined.

Prospero Bonarelli of Ancona (1588–1659) claimed that his *Solimano* was an historical tragedy and that Sansovino's *Istorie dei Turchi* furnished the data as to Turkish customs and manners. According to the plot Solimano has a child by Selino, his wife and queen, and another child by Mustafa, his Circassian mistress. Mustafa's child dies at birth, but Mustafa exchanges the dead body for a living infant. The queen, fearing that her own living son will be the victim of Mustafa's hatred, pretends that her son has died, and secretly gives him to a woman to nurse. From this point the action develops tragically. Bonarelli excluded the chorus, and the rhetorical speeches are less fatiguing than in other contemporary tragedies. The characters possess life, the situations are natural. This play was hailed as a new marvel.

CHAPTER XXXI

Eighteenth Century

AFTER the Council of Trent (1545-1563), Italy was submerged in obscurantism, Jesuitism, and the Inquisition. Ideas were fettered, philosophic speculation was restrained, scientific investigation restricted, and initiative was repressed. This repression began with the child and released only the dead. Priestly education enervated character; sacerdotalism, gambling, *conversazioni*, and the theatre absorbed a vacuous society. There could be no literary reform without a national conscience, and in Italy there was no national conscience.

On the 5th of October 1690 in San Pietro a Montorio was held the first meeting of the *Accademia della Arcadia*. With "Arcadia," Italian literary history enters upon a new period. Having arisen out of the *conversazioni* which Christina of Sweden held in her salon (1656) the Arcadia opposed early *secentismo* excesses, aimed to lead poetry back to pristine purity and to foster simplicity and the naturalness of a pastoral life. The shepherd's pipe wreathed with laurel and pine was its device; on admittance to the academy pastoral names were assumed by the members. Until 1725 the meetings of Arcadia were peripatetic, but in that year John V of Portugal established the Academy on the Janiculum.

The Academy was placed under the guardianship of the child Jesus, to symbolize the candor of its art. This make-believe pastoral world preserved the pagan veneer. Vincenzo Gravina wrote its laws after the style of the twelve tables of Rome. Scholars and poets, popes and princes, ecclesiastics and noble lords, great ladies of all nations, were among Arcadia's members. Arcadia unified many divergent Italian groups. It encouraged poetic-afflatus, it fostered a fastidious literary taste. Every Arcadian *Serbatoio* spilled frivolous, insipid, and artificial verses. Every provincial town was a center of literary activity. These "Colonies" corresponded with one another and with the Roman Colony that still holds its solemn assemblies in the *Bosco Parrasio*.

In this vacuity of spiritual content emphasis was given to the

phrase, the word, the sound of the word, the musicality of the phrase. Poets wrote for the few, musical verse was their aim, substance was unimportant. The Petrarchists of the *cinquecento* were the models. The Arcadian "Tirsi Leucasio," in real life Giambattista Zappi of Imola (1667-1719), wrote coquettish rhymes. The Bolognese Eustachio Manfredi (1674-1737), in Arcadia "Aci Delpusiano," was a better poet. Some of his rhymes express real affection. Arcadia popularized the *canzonette* that sang the joys, the sorrows, and the desires of lovers, the changes of the seasons, campestrial life, and that voluptuously described feminine beauty. Such was the verse of Paolo Rolli (1687-1765) and of Pietro Metastasio.

At Parma under the patronage of Duke Filippo di Bordone, Carlo Innocenzio Frugoni (1692-1768), the Genoese abbot, wrote verses, plays for the court theatre, and pampered beautiful ladies in wordy commonplace. In the *Lagrima per la morte di un gallo* (1741) eighty-two rhymesters competed in Italian, Latin, macaronic local vernacular, Greek, French, and Hebrew verses. The Florentine Benedetto Menzini (1646-1704) wrote lyrics in Chiabrera's style, and an *Arte poetica* in defense of the Italian Parnassus from Boileau's censure. In thirteen satires he reviles his enemies fluently. Lodovico Sergardi (*Quinto Settano*) of Siena (1660-1726) wrote Latin satires. In his *Folodemo*, Gravina is depicted as a monster of iniquity. The *Bertoldo* (1736) in twenty *canti*, written by twenty poets, relate the traditional tricks of crafty "Bertoldo." Niccolo Forteguerra began *Ricciardetto* in 1716. It is composed in elegant language and spontaneous verse. Its thirty *canti*, published in 1738, parodied the old poems of chivalry, particularly the *Morgante* and the *Innamorato* and *Furioso*.

Muratori (1672-1750) was a noble figure and a prodigious writer. His *Antichità Estensi* (Part I, 1717; Part II, 1740) is a mighty work concerning the dispute in 1708 between the house of Este and the Holy See. For his *Rerum Italicorum Scriptores*, popes, kings, and princes opened their archives to his researches. In 1723 the first of those twenty-eight majestic folio volumes was issued which record Italian history from the sixth to the sixteenth century. This collection of chronicles, poems, inscriptions, edicts, and laws, with its prefaces and notes, is perhaps the first systematic collection of the historic sources of any nation. Muratori's *Annali d'Italia* extend from the first century after Christ to 1749.

Girolamo Tiraboschi (1731–1794), professor of eloquence in the Brera college in Milan, and from 1770 librarian to Duke Francesco III of Modena, wrote the *Storia della letteratura italiana*. First printed from 1772 to 1781 in thirteen volumes, it relates the origin and vicissitudes of literature, science, and art in Italy to the year 1700. Muratori's and Tiraboschi's works have been freely used in the writing of this Literary History of the Italian People.

While with Bacon (1561–1626) and Descartes (1596–1650) Europe was discarding scholasticism, and "philosophy," as De Sanctis writes, "emerged from its age of heroes and entered on its age of men," Italy still dallied with *Arcadia*, and cultured Italian society philosophized and moralized. Meanwhile revolution was impending. The middle class was demanding its place in the sun. Under the Roman, Lombard, canon, and feudal laws, the people were "*taillable et corveable a merci*" (subject to tax and corvee at the will of the one in power). But they were questioning these claims. Pietro Giannone, excommunicated by the Archbishop of Naples, fled to Vienna and wrote the *Storia civile del regno di Napoli*, and later the *Triregno*. Treacherously taken prisoner in the dominions of the king of Sardinia (1736) he died in the prison-citadel of Turin at the age of seventy-two.

Giannone's *Storia*, written in forty books of inelegant prose, commences with the Romans and is continued to the beginning of the eighteenth century. It assembles vast material and emphasizes the struggle between Church and State. Giannone shows that in the first three centuries after Christ there was no pope, that all Christians shared in the election of priests and deacons. The primitive Church possessed nothing, had no forum or territory. Temporal power "belonged to the State." Giannone's fame and influence were enormous. Persecution made him a hero, and urged him to writing the *Triregno* which insisted that the papacy must be destroyed.

Giuseppe Parini (1729–1799) began modern Italian literature. Educated at the Barnabite school in Milan, he became an Arcadian, forgot his poverty, and absorbed Virgil, Horace, Dante, Ariosto, and Berni. In 1754 he was ordained a priest and became preceptor to the sons of Duke Gabrio and Duchess Maria Vittoria. One day the Duchess boxed a maid's ear and when Parini protested he was dismissed. He had already composed most of his *Il Maltino*, which was published in 1763. It was followed by *Il Mezzogiorno*. These poems

attracted the Austrian Governor General Count Firmian who in 1768 made Parini editor of the *Gazzetta di Milano*; and in 1769 he was appointed professor of eloquence in the Palatine schools of Canobiana. Parini died August 15, 1799, in Brera palace, where he had lived since 1774.

Il Mattino is a poem in blank verse in which a supposed tutor-companion gives ironical instructions to a fashionable "young gentleman" (Giovin Signore) as to how to spend his mornings. He is to begin the day with gossip, dancing, singing, playing the violin, and with French masters. Then when fashionably dressed, he is to go out in his golden coach. In the *Mezzogiorno*, Giovin Signore is told what he must do later in the day. He should join dissolute friends at a gorgeous dinner given by a famous actress, and then after dinner he should turn to gossip, speeches, coffee, and gambling. *Vespro* and *Notte*, which continue the instructions till the day is done, were never finished. They recommend ceremonial visits and the horse races frequented by the feudal aristocracy. At nightfall they conduct the youth and his lady-love back to her palace.

These poems describe the moral degradation of family life and so-called love. The idleness of the rich is contrasted with the labor in field and workshop of the common people. The portraits are natural, and the descriptions of nature and of town and country life are enchanting. Parini's hexameters are derived from Virgil, but with his *odi*, a new Italian lyric arose. The nineteen *odi* were composed between 1757 and 1795. *Alla Musa*, the last, is the most beautiful. Many poets imitated the *Giorno*. The verse of Clasio's fables are superior to Pignotti's in their simplicity and are more melodious. Giambattista Casti's lascivious *Animali parlanti* are derived from animal fables (1724-1803). Casti wrote *canzonette*, obscene novels in verse, dramas, and descriptions of travels. Didactic poems imitating Virgil were numerous in this society; and science was a favorite for poetry.

In the meantime the adversaries of the Crusca multiplied: there were partisans of pure Tuscany like Baretti, and there were other writers like the Pugni, whose works abound in French idioms. Melchiorre Cesarotti (1730-1808), a Greek and Hebrew teacher in the Studium of Padua, bitterly opposed this Gallicized corruption. In the *Saggio sulla filosofia delle lingue* (1785) Cesarotti maintained that everyone had the right to modify the language and to introduce new words. The *Saggio* roused enthusiasm. Innovators shouted vic-

tory, and purists cried shame. The new criticism produced a new literary form. The purists invoked the Crusca and the classics; the philosophers rejected all authority. To be a "fine intellect" one must disparage the classics, and a "strong mind" must disparage religion. In the eighteenth century, "barbarism" meant both the Middle Ages and the Renaissance. Florence the home of the Crusca, and Rome the home of the Arcadia, feebly opposed all these innovations.

In the eighteenth century, "reform" was everywhere. Genovesi (1712-1769), Verri (1728-1797), and Galiani (1728-1787) were the innovators. Filangieri proposed a reform of education. The Abate Chiari (1700-1797) dished up philosophy in Martellian verse. Chiari versified the Book of Genesis. In the South, Salvator Rosa denounced "rhetoric," yet his own work was mere empty rhetoric. Music was voluptuous. In Milan some writers had ideas. Beccaria, Baretti, Balestrieri, Passeroni, and the brothers Verri called themselves the "transformed." Passeroni laughed at that old society in his *Vita di Cicerone* and *Favole esopiane*. Giambattista Vico (1668-1744) was learned in Greek and Latin, versed in literature, in archaeology, and jurisprudence, but the Middle Ages reached him through Aristotle, and he understood *cinquecento* through Plato and Cicero.

Vico became professor of rhetoric at the University of Naples in 1797. Meanwhile Europe studied Newton and Leibnitz, but *De omnibus dubitandum* shocked Vico, and the Cartesian contempt for authority wounded him. Bacon showed Vico new horizons, he became an investigator. Then he remembered that Grotius was a heretic. When he collided with Descartes' "Give me matter and movement and I will make you the world," Vico acquired a problem and an opponent. He made up his mind to unseat Descartes. In 1725 he published the *Principi di una scienza nuova intorno alla natura delle nazioni*. In this *Scienza nuova* Vico divides history into revolving periods of gods, heroes, and men, which run their course and are perpetually repeated. To create a history of history you must find the laws of history. When marriage and agriculture arose and fixed dwellings and families, then the age of the gods ended, and the age of heroes began. When the plebeians insisted that the patricians share the government with them, then came the age of the popular republic. It is not the individual who makes history, it is the people; it is not facts, but the idea behind a fact. History means the logical

development of government, law, custom, religion, art, and science.

Vico's *Scienza nuova* attacked tradition, authority, and faith, and its standard bearer was Descartes, masquerading as Plato. The important thing was not to say "I think," but to explain how thought came. Thus, while Muratori revived the details of mediaeval history, Giambattista Vico created the first real history of humanity. In fighting Descartes he was influenced unconsciously by Descartes's *de omnibus dubitandum* and his "*Cogito*." Vico's errors are many, but he towers above contemporaries. He perceived and explained the growth of reason in the maturer age of man to the detriment of imagination, and discerned the likeness between modern children and men in the early ages. He believed that the Homeric poems were the collective work of many popular singers of a semibarbarous age. In 1735 Vico was elected royal historiographer with an annual allowance of a hundred ducats. He died in 1744.

The Venetian Francesco Algarotti (1712-64) wrote on literature, art, philosophy, and history. *Dialoghi sopra l'ettica newtoniana* or *Il Newtonianismo per le dame* (1737) gives a clear demonstration of the difficult truth of science. Conte Gasparo Gozzi was born at Venice in 1713, and died in December 1786 at Padua. He scribbled verse and prose. He first published the *Gazzetta veneta*, then founded the *Osservatore veneto* (Feb. 4, 1761 to Jan. 30, 1762) which is composed of dialogues, letters, dissertations, sketches, and tales, sometimes with a serious meaning. He satirizes ignorance, vice, ostentation, vanity, and the frivolity of contemporary literature. Gozzi is simple and graphic, with a rather old-world affectation in words.

Saverio Bettinelli (1718-1808) of Mantua published anonymously the *Lettere Virgiliane* (1757). The fiction of Virgil writing letters from Elysium to Arcadia was not new, but many were scandalized at this attack on Dante. Bettinelli also wrote *Codice nuovo del Parnaso italiano*, and his *Versi sciolti di tre eccellenti moderni autori* is good poetry. Gasparo Gozzi's *Difesa di Dante* (1758) written in reply to Bettinelli is composed of graceful dialogues and speeches. Bettinelli's *Risorgimento d'Italia dopo il Mille* (1773) unites philosophic reflection with accuracy. Abbot Carlo Denina's *Le Rivoluzioni d'Italia*, relating the history of Italy from the earliest times to the Peace of Utrecht, presents the revival of the Roman spirit in the communal age as a movement extending to modern times.

Giuseppe Baretti, the greatest Italian critic of the eighteenth cen-

ture, was born at Turin in 1719. Leaving home at the age of sixteen he lived with his uncle at Guastalla. When Baretti went to England in 1751 he had already written much. During nine years (1751-1760) in London, he collaborated with the Italian theatre, and also taught Italian and published several books and pamphlets in English on Italian literature. In *Lettere familiari ai fratelli* (1760) he described his journey through Spain, Portugal, and France. From Turin he went to Venice and there published the *Frusta letteraria*, furiously lashing the frivolities of Arcadia and the futility of the Petrarchists. The government suppressed this periodical after its twenty-fifth number.

In 1765 he returned to London, was secretary to the Royal Academy of Fine Arts for its foreign correspondence and confuted in a French pamphlet (1777) Voltaire's censure of Shakespeare. Baretti's criticism is vitriolic and is full of incongruities, but it is effective. He attacked Goldoni and upheld Carlo Gozzi's *Fiabe*. Baretti's own prose is violent. He coins new words and makes many abbreviations.

Pietro Verri and Cesare Beccaria lived in Milan. Verri's (1728-1797) writings on philosophy, history, pedagogy, finance, and public administration reveal a wide and sound learning. In the immortal *Dei delitti e delle pene* (1764), Cesare Beccaria (1738-1794) advocates the abolition of torture and capital punishment. In the *Ricerche sulle natura dello stile* (1770), Beccaria attempts to give stylistic doctrine a psychological foundation. The *Giornale dei letterati d'Italia* occupied first place among the numberless eighteenth century Italian periodicals; but it was a group of youths calling themselves "Accademia dei Pugni" who published *Il Caffè* three times a month for three years. Many of the articles in *Il Caffè* bitterly criticized the Arcadians, and the rhetoricians and the grammarians of the Crusca. The whole of Italian literary tradition from Boccaccio to Giambullari and Gelli was disdained; pedantic imitation and learned bungling were contemptuously dismissed.

In Maffei's *Merope*, there was the favorite happy ending and punishment of evil-doers, and the reward of the innocent. It is no marvel, but was an immense success. Antonio Conti's tragedies, *Giulio Cesare*, *Marco Bruto*, *Giunio Bruto*, and *Druso*, are strictly classical, and present a more or less accurate picture of Roman life. Alessandro Verri's (1741-1816) tragedy *Pantea* (1779) is sentimental and melancholy; his *Congiura di Milano* shows Shakespeare's influence. Verri

was a precursor of the romantics and disregarded the classic unities. In 1770 there appeared the *Programma offerto alle Musa Italiano* by "a glorious prince," the Infante Don Ferdinando di Borbone, duke of Parma, Piacenza, and Guastalla, who offered a hundred and fifty zecchini each year to endow Italy with good tragedies.

The first prize was awarded to the *Valsei ossia l'Eroe Scozzese* by Antonio Perabo. The *Auge* of Filippo Trenta (1774) received the second prize. Conte Orazio Calini won a prize with his *Zelinda*, which was copied from the *Blanche et Guiscard* of Saurin, with some added passages from the *Zaïre* of Voltaire. Girolamo Gigli (1660-1729) of Siena wrote *Il Don Pilone ovvero il Bacchettone falso* (Lucca, 1711) adapted from Moliere's *Tartuffe*. The apostate Jew Don Pilone had become Catholic after having married two wives in Portugal, and three in Catalonia, after having falsified the coinage in Holland, violated four nunneries in Brittany, and abducted many girls. Don Pilone suggests both Fra Timoteo of the *Mandragola* and Aretino's *Ipocrito*, for religious hypocrisy prospered in real Italian life all through the eighteenth century. With Jacopo Nelli (1676-1700) we return to the action in the *piazza*, to intrigues, to disguises of names and persons. Other comedies are pictures of domestic life. Among the most praised is *La Serva Padrona*. Love plays a notable part in the comedy of Battista Fagioli (1660-1742).

The lachrymose drama, or bourgeois tragedy, was a rebellion against the classicism of the French seventeenth century tragedy. Also it was founded on "the law of nature in contrast to the written law, the proclamation, of the rights of man in opposition with the society which violated them"—De Sanctis. Away with Greek and Roman heroes, banish lyric and epic from the stage, give us real facts, personages, customs, and representations of contemporary life. What can you expect? There is bound to be passion, vice, and crime. This lachrymose drama was the last French literary importation into Italy.

Giovanni de Gamerra began as an *abate*, then served as a sub-lieutenant in an Austrian Clerici regiment, and returned to Tuscany between 1776 and 1777, ill and very poor. De Gamerra loved Teresa Calamai of Livorno. After a bitter quarrel with her relations, De Gamerra sailed from Leghorn to Naples. The quarrel had shattered Teresa's delicate nerves, and De Gamerra returned to Pisa only to bid her a last farewell. In 1785, he conceived his *piano* (plan) for a new theatre at Naples of which De Gamerra was to be poet, director,

and administrator. He brought back with him twelve plays all written in conformity with his "plan." Something went wrong and the plays never were performed. In 1788 he returned to Pisa and to bitterness and poverty. De Gamerra's life story and his lachrymose dramas are concordant. This theatrical treatment of the domestic tragedy is the beginning of the modern drama and comedy.

CHAPTER XXXII

Venice in the Eighteenth Century

A LITERARY history of the Italian people during the eighteenth century demands ample space for consideration of Venice. The daily life and the political destiny of this resort of worldlings, rendezvous of the intellectual and temple of art, were greatly influenced by international conditions. Long before it was translated into acts, before it had even been formulated in theories, the spirit of revolt against accepted values had troubled Europe. When the hurricane burst and the pyramid of classes in the different European civilizations was assaulted by many incongruous elements, men realized the truth of Vico's aphorism that "while men behave according to their inclinations, the result of their acts often exceeds their expectation."

Jonathan Swift and Daniel Defoe lashed accepted hypocrisies, Benjamin Franklin proclaimed the rights of men, Bayle protested against scientific dogmatism, Ludovico Muratori and Montesquieu demanded that history should consider the origins of power. Buffon, expunging religion from creation; Jean Jacques Rousseau, exposing his social theories; and glibing Voltaire—each believed that he had discovered the cause and the cure of social ills. Accepted moral laws and political organizations succumbed, new ideas and customs appeared. Italian curiosity was aroused by those intellectual currents which came from Germany—too different to be understood; from England—more admired than known; from France—so eminently idealistic. Their hypotheses influenced Italian literature, manners, and customs, and in strictly governed Venice were a vehicle for profound social transformation.

Venice and the eighteenth century! What a theme with many variations! Although the treaties of Passarowitz, of Carlowitz, and of Utrecht greatly reduced the territory and the political influence of the Venetian Republic, nevertheless, one could still rest under an illusion. Venice still appeared like an oasis, splendid and tranquil. Everywhere else was the horror of war. Venice was the city of peace, luxury, refinement, and pleasure. Venice was also the rendezvous of

the intellectual, and it was the temple of art. Nevertheless, under this exterior magnificence Venice carried in her side the same wound that threatened death to other ancient governments. Democracy questioned the very reason for this oligarchy, and her lagoons could not isolate Venice from the revolutionary ideas which everywhere battled with the privileges of caste. No revolt, no declaration of rights, but the law which dominated the entire European evolution sapped the foundation of this ancient power.

Long wars had exhausted the Venetian treasury. Disastrous treaties, the commercial competition of the English and the Dutch in the Orient, the rivalry of other Italian seaports, had sapped public and private wealth. The State acknowledged a deficit. Commerce was overwhelmed by competition. Recourse was had to expedients which hastened her ruin. One blow followed another. Now it was the reopening of the *Livre d'or*; next, a protective tariff embarrassed commerce; then harsh restrictions upon industry. Then ships' cargoes were sold at auction in competition with merchandise purchased at higher prices. The great aristocracy dissolved like a worn-out organism.

The nobility, called Barnabotti, was recruited from among the failures of the great aristocracy or from those who had paid for admission to the Grand Council. These new nobles disturbed an organism already too complex. Holding a middle place between the commercial class and the ancient nobility, they had the faults of both without their virtues. Ignoring their patriotic duties, they insisted on privilege, especially that of being maintained in the laziness of public sinecures.

Both these castes were dominated by a passion for display. Appearances replaced a vanished reality. Stately public pageants, sumptuous embassies, magnificent ceremonial surrounding the Grand Council, were part of a deliberate system, and were paid for by a government that was niggardly in regard to everything not seen. This Venetian aristocracy rarely had recourse to violence in order to make its privileges respected. The aristocracy fought only for social preference, civic dignities, and public offices. This government was less barbarous and less arbitrary than elsewhere in Europe. The honesty of the Venetian magistracy was proverbial. DeLalande ("Voyage in Italy") wrote: "These people are cheerful, gentle, quiet and easily satisfied. . . . In everything which does not interfere with the gov-

ernment, one enjoys in Venice the greatest liberty, and foreigners are never troubled." The pages of Jean Jacques Rousseau, and many other memoirs written about Venice, give the same testimony. Cynical Casanova de Seingalt learned by experience the penalties of cheating in Venice, and that there was little profit in the profession of a spy.

Better even than the complimentary opinions of superficial travelers, the official documents prove the good order which reigned in Venice. The police regulation providing for lighting the streets and canals, hospital maintenance and quarantine at the slightest threatening of epidemic, the enlightened oversight restraining commercial bodies and trade corporation—all contradict the fables invented against the good reputation of that Venice which was still called *la Dominante*, and where on the slightest occasion the whole city made merry, welcoming some princely guest, celebrating some historic anniversary, or honoring one of the many saints of the national calendar. What varied enchantments were offered to royal and princely guests! Palaces were improvised and other palaces were joined together for magnificent balls. The square of St. Mark was changed into a basin in which floated fantastic boats. The lagoon of St. George was transformed into an ephemeral garden covered with palaces, towers, and forests, all created by the use of countless lanterns swinging from a thousand boats.

The many patriotic festivals to which the Venetians were passionately attached were equally magnificent. Chief among these was the festival *dell' Ascensione* (the Ascension). Along the entire length of the Grand Canal, that great golden and carved barque, the Bucintoro, like a shrine, glides majestically between triple rows of decorated gondolas and boats. All the actors of the apotheosis are in their places, clothed in brilliant robes, shining with glittering ornaments, and in the hieratic pose which has been consecrated by centuries of splendor. Europe is there in the person of its ambassadors, but they cannot equal the ducal magnificence. The people of the Orient are there in gorgeous costumes. Hastening crowds come from near-by terra firma or from the city's *calli* and *campielli*. The movements have the seriousness of a religious rite. With the high-sounding words "*Disposamus te, mare, in signum veri perpetuique dominii,*" the Doge casts into the water the symbolic ring. Neither the senators who surround, nor the people who shout, suspect the irony of that

affirmation of perpetual rule made by the representative of an autocracy from which power has fled, and in the presence of a people impoverished.

Those Venetians also were on the way to being transformed. Around that oligarchy pressed the vulgar crowd who would so soon supplant them. But the conflict of interests, the rivalry between the different social strata, were easily forgotten in the hours of pleasure. Other Italian cities displayed magnificent spectacles. Those of Versailles unfolded an equal splendor and art; but in no other capital was there such a complete cooperation of all the people in common entertainment. Upon this great stage of embellishment, the lagoons framed with magnificent palaces, churches, and public buildings, the most important rôles were mingled with the choir of the people, all of them actors and artists by racial instinct. They crowded the great piazzas, and in gaily decorated gondolas swarmed the canals. Every Venetian participated in the picture and contributed to the general effect by guarding his pose and his place.

Venetian private life exhibited the same theatricality that characterized the public life. The same egoism inspired the politics of the Senate and the conduct of the most insignificant *popolano*. Every form of Venetian art expressed the Venetian desire to dazzle, to astonish. In the enormous compositions of Tiepolo, the clouds are massed like the curtains of a theatre, the marble columns are bent and broken, and human bodies in disconcerting foreshortening rest upon marvelous unfolding of draperies. Venetian architecture manifested similar tendencies. Even the funereal monuments suggest the final scene or ballet. All Venetian life showed this same theatricality. Private entertainments almost rivaled the public festivals. Life was lived in the open; and the fashionable world was sure to be found in certain places at certain periods of the day and night.

Even the private houses gave evidence of the passion for display. The palace, with its monumental marble columns, its majestic stairway, its vast salons, reveals the temple dedicated to Vanity. The spacious rooms were paneled in tapestries decorated in gold, and were lighted by many mirrors in splendid frames. Above the doors in scroll-carved brackets, shepherds and shepherdesses in mannered graces reflected the affected movements of the people who were strutting below them. Space was needed for the low courtesies of the ladies and for the salutations in which the long curls of the masculine

peruke almost touched the ground. This entering a fashionable salon was an important ceremony. These social formalities of fashionable society began in the morning and continued until late at night.

Pietro Longhi painted this fashionable woman at every stage of her daily routine; the morning at her toilet surrounded by her friends, the tradespeople who tempted her extravagance, the little *abbés*, curled and perfumed, who regaled her with scandals while she drank her chocolate and read her billets-doux or the poetical verses which sang her beauty, but couldn't make her forget her pressing debts and the money lost last night in gambling. After the toilet and the mass came visits, excursions, shopping, lunch in the *parloirs* of the convents where the nuns held their court, the visit to the fortune-teller, and then the "promenade." No lady of fashion could miss the promenade at the hour and at the place that fashion prescribed. For this stately daily parade was unique in its character. The Liston extended from San Geremia to the Riva degli Schiavoni. There swarmed a motley crowd. Here the rich colors of the Orient mingled with the formal elegance of senatorial robes; and the patrician's *tabarro* jostled with the *bautta*. The grand lady in finery rubbed against one in *zendado*, or disguised by a mask. Here were open stalls of every description. Mountebanks, exhibitors of tame birds, and fortune-tellers, a glittering ensemble in which each knew his own place.*

Even when Venice counted no more than 150,000 inhabitants, she had eight theatres. The oldest was the San Casciana; like most of these houses this one belonged to a patrician family, the Trons. In early times admittance was free. The owners of the theatres offered this amusement to their friends and acquaintances. It was only after the performance of *Andromeda* by Monteverde that tickets were sold, the Trons keeping a certain number for their friends. The price of a ticket was then fixed at four Venetian lire; the boxes being paid apart.

The theatre was illuminated by a double row of lamps on each side of the scene. The spectators, who liked to follow the recital in the book, carried bits of candle in their pockets, holding it on or near the book that was often burnt or soiled with the drippings. There

* For descriptions of theatrical life, see Goldoni's *L'Impresario delle Smirne*, *Il Teatro Comico*, and several passages of his *Memoirs*. Also Metastasio's *intermezzi* for the *Didone*, *L'Impresario delle Canarie*. Also Sografi's *Le Convenienze Teatrali*.

About the Venetian theatres, interesting information can be found in a book by Schneider describing Claudio Monteverde and the first melodramas.

was a space some three yards wide between the orchestra and the first row of seats in which people walked about. The audience was generally noisy; it was considered fashionable to talk aloud even during the play. The boxholders behaved impertinently towards the pit, and would spit on the heads of those below them.

One came to the theatre to continue the everlasting gossip. In the boxes society gambled, talked, and occasionally listened to a melodious soprano voice from a masculine throat. It was good breeding to judge the play by the opinion of those in the pit. After the theatre, to the Ridotto, to gamble, to sup, and continue the everlasting talk. Gambling was the vice of this society which was more frivolous than wicked, more vain than luxurious. Gambling satisfied the instinct of the trader and the desire to splurge. Gambling might repair an income impaired by commercial speculations or wrecked by extravagances. For those who despised the modest gains of legitimate business, gambling offered an attractive profession. Ruined nobles, impoverished landowners, the new rich, and professional gamblers played *faro*, *tressetti*, and *basset*; dupes from every corner of the world came to Venice to be plucked. One gambled everywhere, and at all hours of the day and night. In the patricians' salons, the gambling table was always prepared. Most men of fashion had some casino near Piazza San Marco, which served for business office and bachelor quarters. There they received merchants, usurers, others of uncertain character, and their most intimate friends of both sexes. Here one could freely sup or gamble or be otherwise amused.

Great ladies had similar "bachelor" quarters; some kept open house to avoid the formalism of official receptions. Others used these *casini* to encourage foreigners to gamble. Some owned them in partnership, forming societies, governed by rules similar to English clubs. The Council of Ten passed laws and fixed the principal charges of the Ridotto which was then situated in the Calle Vallaresso. A pamphlet now preserved in the Civic Museum echoes the public indignation at the election of a great patrician to preside over the ruin of fools. One gambled in the barbershops, rendezvous of the unemployed, and in the cafés which never closed their doors. One gambled in the *malvasie*, where wine flowed for the gondoliers while waiting for their clients or masters, and also for the rich bourgeoisie and the gentleman of fashion who entered stealthily, muffled in his cloak, when he wished to keep low company. Even the poorer women

while working at their marvelous lace, in their doorways or on the low balconies, played their little games of chance, especially the *Venturina*, an exceedingly popular sort of lottery.

Common to all classes in Venice was the mask. It was not romantic, as many seem to suppose. It was a necessity on certain occasions; it was the official incognito on others. Sometimes it indicated a partial relaxing of the laws of etiquette. The patrician who wished to go to mass in his slippers, or to lounge in the *piazzetta* during business hours, threw a *tabarro* over his shoulders; the great lady put on a mask and a *bautta* to go shopping or to drink a cup of coffee in public. The *bautta*, a hooded cloak which hid the entire body as well as the head, and a mask, furnished with an ample frill, were a complete disguise. In most cases, as soon as the theatre or casino had been entered, the great lady and her cavalier freed themselves from their masks and heavy dominos. The mask was not only permitted for the carnival, the *Senza*, and other occasions, but it was sometimes demanded by law, to restrict luxury in dress.

As for that characteristic Venetian institution, the *cavalier servente* or *sigisbeo*, what an amount of virtuous indignation has been wasted in pious condemnation of the person who was "neither husband, lover, nor friend"! People intent on committing certain social sins do not confide in the public. In this Venetian world, saturated with Spanish formalism and oriental jealousy, these *sigisbeos* would not have been tolerated if their purpose had been questionable. There could be neither absurdity nor immorality in a custom saturated with the perfume of ancient gallantry, and the chivalric ideals of a very old aristocracy. The cavalier who agreed to serve a lady must protect her good name. If he abused his rights, he was despised. If he permitted another to supplant him, he became ridiculous.

Another custom of the Venetians was the country house party. To go to the mainland, to see the trees, to walk over the greensward of the fields; what a joy for dwellers in a city rising from the sea, with narrow streets, few gardens, and many canals! This craving for terra firma had been most singularly transformed by fashion, vanity, and etiquette. The Venetian went into the country in order to continue his Venetian manner of living. In their princely villas on the mainland, the Venetian patricians offered a hospitality as lavish as that given by great English families on their country estates. This prodigality, however, was the only point of resemblance. For Vene-

tians, *villeggiatura* meant the salon, conversation, the gambling tables, the garden walks for a short stroll, concerts, balls, theatrical performances—exactly as in the city. The bourgeois family, in leaving Venice for the mainland, sought the café on the village square and the street where he could strut with his companions. Not to be able to be seen at one of the fashionable country resorts in the autumn would have been an acute humiliation.

The gondola also played an important part in Venetian eighteenth century life. The severity of the sumptuary laws, even more than the learned Latin work of the Spanish Emanuele de Azevedo, testified to the preference of the Venetian patricians for this luxurious but slow method of travel. A day in the pillory and three years in prison were the punishment for the gondolier guilty of wearing more than the permitted amount of silk. Severe laws forbade proprietors from decorating their gondolas too gorgeously, and finally required their being painted black. The interior decorations of the gondola, however, were works of art. Bronze or brass marine monsters were shaped in many poses; there were mirrors, oriental carpets, and soft cushions. The gondola might become a love nest, rocked by the quiet water, and with a protecting and complaisant gondolier. Sometimes the gondola of the great lady became a jewel-casket in which to hide her beauty, to which the window of a *falze* with its dark interior made a most becoming frame. On entering or leaving the gondola, opportunities were presented for graceful gestures when the Venetian lady rested the tips of her fingers on the arm of her *cavalier servente*, when her foot left the edge of the boat and rested on the marble step of the palace.

The gondoliers formed almost a caste. Those employed by a private family were the confidants of family secrets. Of a fidelity that was traditional, they were also restrained by professional honor. The gondolier of Madame would have been despised had he "talked" with her husband. Those in public service, all stationed in fixed places while waiting for their customers, were tenacious of their privileges, especially the right to a free place in the pit of all the theatres.

After centuries of combat and of resistance, the actual position of the Republic toward the Catholic Church was one of ceremonious distrust. The Republic feared papal encroachments. The Venetian judicial courts restricted the Inquisition. To the sceptical,

light-hearted Venetians religion meant little more than a question of propriety and of good form, an excuse for public celebrations, a code of expediency.

As for the convents and the abbeys, they participated in all worldly pleasures. There is some exaggeration in the scenes described by Casanova, and also in the statements of the president des Brosses that "the convents were the hotbed of gallantry" and that "three among them disputed for the privilege of furnishing a mistress to the Papal Nuncio." Nevertheless, intrigue flourished in the hothouse of convents. Their *parloirs* were more frequented than the salons of great ladies. The nuns received behind the latticework. The president des Brosses describes them in the *parloirs* and at mass: "Talking and laughing together, they appeared to me to be very pretty and dressed in a manner to make their beauty most effective. They have a charming little coiffure, a simple but very effective costume, almost always white, with the shoulders and neck uncovered neither more nor less than the dresses in the Roman manner of our comedy actresses."

Longhi's pictures show an elegant crowd pressing before the wire latticework of a *parloir*, bringing to the beautiful nuns the gossip of the world and its vanity, while they gave sweetmeats in exchange. Scattered through all social ranks, petted in every circle, admitted into every lady's boudoir, the little *abbés* of dubious charms and cunning ways had a prominent place in this Venetian society where the feminine element predominated. It was a society of decadence and refined perversion in the highest spheres, which all the writers of the period have so often described.

Venice was like an old tree but with one of its branches, the middle class, still swelling with sap. Its wars were fought beyond the seas, mainly by mercenary troops, and Venice was sure to win; the Council was vigilant and wise, why borrow trouble? Venice was not a hell of denunciations, secret judgments, darksome prisons, and horrors. But, about certain topics, Venetians talked in whispers.

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CHAPTER XXXIII

Carlo Goldoni and His Plays

IN THE two volumes of his *Memoirs*, in the prefaces to his plays, in many short poems, and in a few letters, Goldoni (1707-1793) has provided much material from which to construct a history of his life and works. If Goldoni has left a purposely blurred and distorted account of his life, a general and a personal reason will account for this inaccuracy. Goldoni belonged to a society that worshiped decorum, that stifled self-revelation and real feeling. As a typical Venetian, a display of his real feelings would have been undignified. Also he was a playwright, and had learned the art of make-believe.

When he writes about himself he applies the technique of his art. What he says must agree with the general outline of the personage he wants people to think him. His autobiography is an interpretation, truth adapted. What the portrait has lost in sincerity it has gained in relief. The elements composing it are all true to life. The character of himself which Goldoni has thus composed is singularly attractive. It smiles, glows with spontaneity. Yet the real Goldoni, when stripped of these semi-confessions and often inaccurate anecdotes, is even more lovable, more honorable. Notwithstanding many travels he always remains a typical Venetian.

Goldoni, a model of honesty in his dealings with man, was not above suspicion of levity in his behavior with women. His flirtations with actresses are not important. Goldoni was at first a toy in their pretty hands, and when he became an important playwright, who could give a rôle, he in turn amused himself with their petty vanities and rivalries.

Goldoni's relations with women were not so simple as they appear in the *Memoirs*. He was very susceptible to feminine charms and Venetian morality of his time was lax. As an actor and dramatist, he naturally chose most of his favorites from among actresses. Often he found it difficult to decide whether he was in love with the woman or with the interpreter of one of the rôles he had created. In Milan

an adventuress beguiled him, but although he thought himself in love with several other actresses *la Passalacqua* was the only one who really mastered his senses and his imagination. Not exactly beautiful, with green eyes, a full developed figure, and a poor complexion, she persuaded Goldoni to step into a gondola, and thus Goldoni was seduced by the complicity of an accomplished flirt and a row along the laguna by moonlight. Then Goldoni learned that the lady was granting favors to Vitalba.

Goldoni tells of his first meeting with Nicoletta Connio, and how they fell in love: no dramatic incidents, the course of peaceful, honest love ending in marriage. He could not have chosen better. Nicoletta's patience and devotion sustained her husband all through their long life, and he realized her value. With tenderness and gratitude, in his old age Goldoni pays homage to the "woman who has been my comfort in every moment." Goldoni was not a perfectly faithful husband, yet after every *affaire* Goldoni returned to his Nicoletta whom he set far above all other women. Nicoletta was also a model daughter-in-law. They settled in Venice, October 1736, in the modest house with his mother Margherita Goldoni and her maiden sister. That Goldoni could be so serenely impervious to the stings of calumny, so forgiving, was due in large measure to that source of joy and courage, a happy home.

Goldoni is reticent about his private affairs. He scarcely mentions his home life, says that he only intended to stop in Pisa for a few days, but on learning that he could by opening a law office provide for his wants, he settled down and practiced law there for about three years. A short and honorable career it proved to be. Through his admission into the Pisan colony of Arcadia, he met various persons that could be of help to him in his play-writing. But neither Arcadia nor the society of *litterati*, nor even the profits of his career as a lawyer, satisfied Goldoni. Venice and the theatre were ever present in his thought. It blazed forth when the great comic actor Sacchi asked for a play. Goldoni could at last return to Venice, to his mother, to his actors and actresses of the Medebach troupe, to the joys and pleasures of Venetian life.

When Goldoni insists on the inevitableness of his vocation, he disregards how largely this vocation was affected by the intellectual, social, and political conditions of his time. No man has ever more accurately reflected in himself or more accurately revealed in his

writings the thought, the atmosphere, of his own environment. To know Goldoni and to have read his writings, is to know Goldoni's Venice. In his writings he mirrors his time because he was so absolutely a part of it. Goldoni's first teachers were players. "I was with my players like a painter with his models." Models indeed and also sweethearts, some of them. By studying his actors Goldoni often elaborated a character.

A profitable understanding with Medebach brought Goldoni back to Venice and to a fresh start on the stage of the Sant'Angelo Theatre. Goldoni rented a small apartment in Calle San Giovanni for himself, his wife, and his mother near by. Besides composing and staging eight new plays every year and adapting several old ones, and writing "occasional" poetry, he also supervised the acting, which meant attendance at all rehearsals.

In 1753 Goldoni signed a contract with the brothers Vendramin, who were owners and managers of the San Luca Theatre, which has now become *Il Teatro Goldoni*. But the large theatre was difficult to fill and the new actors were not sympathetic with his planned reforms. Goldoni soon felt the iron hand under the velvet glove of his Excellency Francesco Vendramin. After the death of his brother Antonio, his Excellency Francesco Vendramin remained sole owner of the San Luca Theatre and gave Goldoni no support in his dealing with the whims and deficiencies of players. It was the author's tact and the players' appreciation of his talent that gradually smoothed the way to pleasant relations. Goldoni's contracts with Medebach and with Vendramin fixed the price of the plays irrespective of their success, but the only prize he really cared for was the applause of a people who were keen judges of a theatrical performance in a city that contained sixteen theatres at a time when London had only six and Paris ten.

Goldoni's friends were found in almost every class. Stefano Sciu-gliaga was a devoted friend. Between Gasparo Gozzi and Goldoni there was a spiritual relationship stronger than family affection or literary polemic. The relations of Albergati-Capacelli, of ancient Bolognese family, with Goldoni show many different aspects of contemporary life. Albergati-Capacelli was jealous of the compliments Goldoni paid to his mistress. Yet Goldoni's relations remained friendly with one who had proved himself fickle to three wives and many mistresses.

Personal antagonism between Count Carlo Gozzi and Avvocato Goldoni was complete and unavoidable, racial and social. It was Carlo Gozzi's persecution and niggardly Vendramin hardness which drove Goldoni from Venice. In a letter to Cornet, Goldoni expressed a wish to accompany his friend to Paris. Paris was a change. It was release from unprofitable duty; it was escape from malignant satire and rude rivalry. Vendramin was persuaded to grant terms which made Goldoni's departure possible. Saying good-bye to his beloved Venetian audience was quite another thing. His farewell play is the cry of a soul appealing to other souls. Tragedy knocked at Goldoni's heart at this turning point of his career. Things began to go wrong even before he reached Paris. At Lyons he received a letter from Zanuzzi saying that the comic opera had been united to the Italian comedy and the Italians reduced to the rank of accessories.

Goldoni assures his readers that he liked Paris, yet he was puzzled rather than attracted. Goldoni aimed at royal favor; he was dazzled with courtly magnificence. One of his plays, however, had a clamorous success. To Albergati-Capacelli he wrote joyfully: "A week ago my play *Les Amours d'Arlequin et de Camille* was performed. The success obtained is so general and so full that now I may say that my reputation is made in Paris. They say that their own theatre has nothing so good. The second and third comedies, forming the trilogy of Camille's loves and pains, proved even more successful than the first." "The first two have done much; the third one, everything. . . . If I transcribe here all the praise they are giving to my work, with all your kindness, you must tax me with exaggeration."

"A star," says he, "rose in my sky!" A lady-in-waiting introduced him to the dauphine and obtained for him the place of Italian teacher for the Princess Adelaide. Goldoni was not fitted to be a teacher, but he tried to earn his salary, even though his three royal pupils proved dull and idle. Goldoni is grateful for a kind word, for the present of some medicine when an accident left him nearly blind. Six long months of service were rewarded with lodgings at court in Versailles. "A large and comfortable apartment with a view on la grande rue de la Surintendence." "Tossed between annoyances, not knowing whether I will go on writing for the theatre, it was difficult to write for the Parisian comedians who will not learn their rôles. For Italy, I am bound to Vendramin by a hateful, unendurable bond (*laccio odioso insoffribile*). Three years later, by royal inter-

cession, Goldoni received a pension. Six thousand francs were asked, only four were granted by the minister, and only three thousand six hundred were actually paid. In what proportion they dwindled in darker years until the pension was suppressed entirely is not recorded.

Goldoni knew that the unexpected success of his *Bourru Bien-faisant* could not be repeated. He describes the Italian *opera buffa* in Paris, how he was ignored and only called to work for them when it was too late. Goldoni says something kind about every book, invention, and institution that he mentions. His tenderness for Nicoletta was unflagging. He kept early hours, shared her bed in winter, and before asking her assistance as secretary he read to her in the evening. Few events of his last years are recorded beyond those which he says of himself in informing the readers of his *Memoirs* that he was aged eighty when he finally laid down his pen in 1787. He was then past all ambition, past all vexation, past all terror and all hope. He died at six o'clock in the evening, February 6, 1793, at his home, number 1 rue Pavée Saint Sauveur, at the age of eighty-six.

Though nothing is positively said about her, Nicoletta was sure to conciliate further good will, and to awaken pity in the hearts of those who saw her so patient, so devoted, and so destitute. The French National Convention granted her a pension, and *La Comédie* theatre added the profits of a representation to refill her empty pockets. If Goldoni's great and tender soul hovered near the place where his last days were passed, as he watched over his long-loved companion he must have rejoiced to see her provided for. Though history has not recorded the date of Nicoletta's death, it is probable that she did not long outlive her husband.

In the Piazzetta dei Mercanti in Venice, halfway between the Rialto and the Merceria, close to the Riva where the daily market was held, not far from the Piazza San Marco and the bookshop where his friends and partisans met and but a few steps farther from the Teatro di San Luca, now Teatro Goldoni, is a statue of Goldoni slightly stooped as if listening to the merchants and the shopkeepers discussing the day's business or engaging in wordy warfare or banter, while pigeons coo and flap their wings. If Goldoni could step down from his pedestal he would find himself at home in this twentieth century, and that his comedies still are being performed not only in the Venetian theatres but all over the world. Goldoni belongs to

these Venetians. Like his own immortal Pantalone he was the synthesis of past centuries and the forerunner of a new age.

This is the Goldoni who proposed to purge the nastiness from that degenerate theatre of which, in the preface to his theatrical works, he writes: "The comic theatre of Italy for more than a century past had so deteriorated that it became an object for general abhorrence. You saw nothing on public stages but indecent harlequinades, dirty intrigue, foul jests, immodest lovers." In attempting this reform, Goldoni was in harmony with the moral standard of his environment, and did not attempt the impossible.

Goldoni's plays present every aspect of life, catch the spirit of every social rank, show his love for the homely classics and his condemnation of the Venetian aristocracy. The misfortunes of the humble are not exaggerated, but he asks for fair play. Whether dissipated husband, *cavalier servente*, timid lover, spendthrift, or gambler, most of his aristocrats are poltroons. The nobleman is flattered by his wife's conquests and pleased to get rid of her; but Pantalone, mouthpiece of the common people, abhors such practices.

Goldoni's middle-class women are more chaste; wives are more loyal, husbands more faithful. Goldoni's women are less wicked than his men. Those modest, industrious young girls, dainty Lucietta, sparkling Felicietta, tender-hearted, devoted Corralina, who come and go so trim and gay, playing their pretty pranks, pleading for their lovers or plotting to captivate some grumbling old uncle, are truly Goldonian. The wife, the mother, are shown bravely protecting their family from ruin. When Goldoni's women are bad their wickedness is a consequence and not a cause. The coquettish wife is the unhappy partner of a dissolute husband; the peevish house drudge is embittered by long bullying. The woman contrives and plots because her natural life has been suppressed.

This thesis of reform of society through the family and by female influence was advanced in Venice, where public opinion and the standard of morality was most unfair towards women. Goldoni's little world praised feminine charms, worshiped and complimented beauty. But that the one half of mankind was the equal of the other was too absurd for discussion. Goldoni's plays emphasize the great influence of the family. He understood the feelings and defended the rights of the gondoliers.

Goldoni's intuition and sincerity in depicting the humble people

of the *calli*, *traghetti*, and *piazzetti*, in contrasting their qualities with those of the aristocratic hand-kissing Lelios and Florindos, and his use of their vernacular, are unsurpassed. His *L'Impresario della Smirne* gives a pretty picture of theatrical customs. Admirable is his portrait of the physician who healed the spirit as well as the body. Lawyers he respected and admired. Shopkeepers, tradespeople, the humble *facchino di piazza*, pawnbrokers, and money lenders find in him a defender. Frivolous girls in search of husbands, extravagant wives, infatuated husbands, adventurers, parasites, ignorant doctors, Goldoni does not invent his types but completes them through many plays. His female characters are many and varied; some of them are unsurpassed. He hates militarism and loathes war. In his social plan, the family is the nucleus of society.

In the long gallery of Goldoni's types, the *cortesan* is absolutely his own. What is a *cortesan*? In his *Memoirs*, Goldoni says:

It is not possible to express the word *cortesan* by a French adjective. The term *cortesan* is derived from courtesy or courteous. The real Venetian *cortesan* is honest, obliging, useful, generous without profusion, gay but not foolish; he loves the ladies without compromising them. He enjoys pleasure but does not ruin himself in order to obtain it. He lives a quiet life but refuses to be swindled. He is affable and is a devoted friend.

Momolo thus expresses himself:

Money! Having it is not important, but knowing how to spend it. A good *cortesan* gives the same value to his silver as to his gold. He guards against stinginess, but will not be swindled. He can be generous and when necessary can draw the purse-strings tight. He is true with his friends, but with swindlers he meets trickery with trickery. The world is full of cheating, deception is fashionable; but I laugh at them for I always have a card for every play.

Momolo is placed in that most difficult position when a young girl makes advances to him. Elenora knows the value of the love she has given to Momolo; and it is because she is so deliciously pure that she tells him of her love, and proves it in a manner which will ruin her if she fails to win him. Of course, in the last act, Momolo accepts the marriage chain and perhaps becomes a good husband. To complete the figure of Momolo we have the scene where, sword in hand, he faces two assassins paid to assault him and persuades them to beat up their paymaster. It is a scene of repertoire, one such as the actors

of *Commedia dell'Arte* have in their *zibaldoni*; but it is played with such *brio*, gaiety, good nature, and irony that it would give pleasure today. The scene between Momolo and Ludro the usurer is delightful. Momolo's debt increases though he has made many partial payments. A rascally go-between demands an enormous percentage, spoiled merchandise is offered him in place of cash, all the tricks familiar to usurers are described, but indignant Momolo gives the usurer his lesson.

How charming, how artificial, how piquant and naive is the Italian eighteenth century theatre-type of soubrette; elaborated after ancient comedy traditions and long presented in comic opera and vaudeville! How gay her laughter, how keen her repartee, how knowing her smile, how sincerity is disguised by artifice! With her little cap balanced on black curly hair, little lace apron and bodice freely open at the neck, when her little slippers and lace stockings advance on the stage one realizes that in Colombina alluring youth, good sense, satire without bitterness, mischief without perversion, skill without trickery, kindliness without vice, have entered upon the scene to encourage bashful lovers, make fun of graybeards, sustain the rights of love and of youth against intriguing old age and selfishness. That darting repartee will pass over the heads of the dotards in the play but will reach the audience. Loose talk, insinuations, will be exchanged but no actual grossness.

She has disappeared, this pert soubrette to whom one says everything, who understands everything, and to whom everything is permitted. She has disappeared, this natty, lissome, pretty soubrette. She who could skim the brink of the abyss yet escape improprieties, could weave intrigue yet protect lovers, arrange the rendezvous but prevent the *finale appassionato*—she has disappeared, as all artistic creations disappear with the changing humor of the public. In Goldoni's earlier pieces she is Colombina, the scandal-bearer, sower of discords. Goldoni soon evokes a quite different soubrette. In the *Donna di Garbo*, which is a comedy of transformations, the actress shows the whole range of her talents. Playing with the gambler, wise with the learned, attentive to the old grumbler, coquetting with some, austere with others, the "sly dog," the woman *di garbo* becomes at the end a sentimentalist. In his other plays Goldoni places Colombina among the subordinate characters, in rôles which are consistent with those of her mistress.

In *La Serva amorosa* he calls her Corralina and gives her a Venetian physiognomy. This adjective *amorosa* differs from the French word *amoureuse*. The word suggests not so much love as tenderness, devotion, active kindness, and a chivalric impulse. Goldoni understood that heroism, abnegation, patience, and fidelity which was hidden behind trifling manners or deliberate coldness, especially where the woman wished to save her too sensitive heart, her too punctilious *amour propre*. Corralina has reticences even from herself. Under her white purity of devotion there glows a flame, which, unless repressed, may flare into a conflagration. And it is this something understood, a martyr's aureole, which adds poignant charm to her person. Here are two Venetian bourgeois families, that of Pantalone, father of the charming Rosaura, and that of Ottavio, father of Florindo. Ottavio is now the husband and slave of Beatrice his second wife, and is stepfather of Lelio. Florindo is maltreated by his stepmother, driven from home by senile Ottavio, and but for Corralina he would have starved. It is Corralina who brings about his marriage with Rosaura, the recognition of his rights as the heir, and the banishment of the second wife and stepson.

How natural her introduction! She knits a pair of stockings. The yarn came from her dead mistress. "Ah, but those were the happy days. Patience! I have undertaken to help poor Mr. Florindo and I will never go back until I have finished that which I have promised to do. Poor Mr. Florindo! I love him as if he were my brother. My mother nursed him. We have both drawn milk from the same breast. We have grown up together, and besides I have a very tender heart. When I have become attached to anyone, I would let myself be cut in pieces for them." Florindo enters Corralina's house weeping. He is penniless. Corralina gives him kind words and vague promises. She is only loaning him the money. "Yes, yes, I don't intend to give you a single thing. I am keeping count of everything. I will demand payment to the very last penny." Rosaura buys the stockings and listens to Corralina's gossip about Florindo's passion. Florindo is the pearl of young men. He never scolds, hasn't a vice, doesn't gamble nor run around with wild young men or girls. Corralina overflows with fantastic explanations. "Florindo has left home because he wishes to marry; he stays in this neighborhood because he loves these windows, and very well you know why. In love with me? Don't be so foolish. He is a very serious young man and madly in love with you."

Having thus started the affair and drawn from Rosaura a half-confession, Corralina returns home and finds Florindo in despair. Madame Beatrice has ordered the notary to make Ottavio's will, entirely in favor of his stepson Lelio and of herself. Corralina says, "We will begin by having a good lunch; then I will talk with the notary." Rosaura's father Pantalone enters; ensues a combat between two finished duelists. "Never enter my house," Pantalone orders, "I am tired of quarrels on account of Florindo; I am through with him and his family." Corralina blackguards him, pretends she has been personally insulted, appeals to his vanity. A fine man! With wealth and high position, to tamely allow the insults of Madame Beatrice and of Ottavio to pass unpunished! Why, he should help Florindo! And what a splendid thing would be a marriage between Florindo and his daughter Rosaura! Florindo possesses every desirable quality himself. Very soon he will return to his family and take his own rank, and he will make a brilliant marriage.

Rosaura visits Corralina, Florindo being hidden in the next room. Corralina again discusses the virtues and the brilliant prospects of Florindo and promises that some day Rosaura shall come to her house to talk with Florindo, since there is no other way to arrive at an understanding. "But if anyone should find out?" "No one will find out." "How shall I know when to come?" "Leave that all to me; only promise that you will come when I tell you to." The promise is made. Corralina calls in Florindo, and the classic *Commedia dell'Arte* scene is played between timid lovers and encouraging soubrette. Then, before the powder explodes, she intervenes. The making of Ottavio's will is amusing. Corralina accompanies the notary, and when Beatrice goes out with him she persuades Ottavio to realize his duty to his own son and to drive Beatrice and his stepson from the house. Corralina is Goldoni's most perfect soubrette.

Precursor of the moralists and psychologists of the following century, in one of his plays Goldoni discovers in the soul of Valentina, the housekeeper, the explanation of the violent reaction against established order. Who before Goldoni searched for a soul in revolt lodged in the body of a soubrette? In what play before Goldoni's is there found such contrast between vice and greatness of soul as in this housekeeper, who manages everything and is herself dominated by a rapacious sister, and by a lover of the lowest type? Goldoni shows a

woman dominated by a blind passion. Her lover is unworthy but she loves him; her sister Felicita is a procuress yet she loves her; and she knows and judges herself. "The hatred which I have breathed in has rendered me hateful, because in escaping vengeance I have undertaken to avenge myself." Utterly spoiled by the indulgent master, she has herself been conquered by love. Valentina is the servant who has become a personality.

Goldoni's personages are not to be found in the medley of Piazza San Marco; they have their own humble resorts. In some secluded *bottega* they indulge in the sumptuous feast of a cup of coffee and a few crackers made of insipid flour paste.

In *Le Massere*, Goldoni sketches an entire group of little maid-servants. The *massera* is a maid of all work. She has recently come from the country and has not lost the bright cheeks, the freshness of those gentle valleys. It is the maidservant of modest Venetian families, whose mistress has no secrets from her; or whose elderly master is sentimental and who to his fatherly affection for her adds a different kind of love: "but nothing, you understand, in the slightest degree improper." In the early morning these maids are on their doorsteps or their balconies gossiping, or disputing for the favor of the handsome young fellow who visits the fountain, and offers to take them all to the coffee house. It is the last day of the Venetian carnival and these gay young girls and even Donna Rosega, from whom age has not taken the lust of youth, have wandered freely with their beaux. What a day! What escapades because of their masks! What a whirlpool of little plots, unexpected meetings, of gaiety! What peals of laughter, bright sparkles as from a skyrocket!

How amusing the dialogue between old graybeards Biasio and Zulian, each recounting the charms of devoted servants, tender, attractive, affectionate, patient. "One who knows how to put her hand to everything," says Biasio, "and don't imagine for a minute that she is old. She is young and pretty, at least I find her so. What more could you want?" Zulian praises his own maid. "Agnes tells me that I look like a man not forty years old, and she ought to know." The other tells how she sees that he is properly shaved and assures him that he has cheeks like a rose and is as active as a young boy. One can guess what Goldoni would accomplish in bringing together these masked graybeards and servants. Jewels indeed are these pictures, yet are they

rarely played. For where are the actresses to depict this type of soubrette? Such cleverness and gaiety! The world is too old, too sad for her.

The *Mirandolina* type of soubrette is not exactly a servant. She is the *locandiera*; she presides over a little establishment which admits only well known guests, where service becomes hospitality and where orders are requests for favors. It is a little middle-class boarding house with a mingling of bachelors' rooms. The Chevalier Ripafratta, the Marquis of Forlinpopoli, the count of Alba Fiorita, are permanently established here. Two of them already love her. The Marquis of Forlinpopoli, a finished type of the ruined *barnabotti*, offers her a title of nobility and the half of his poverty. "The most excellent seignior Marquis wants to marry me. Ah, well, there is just one little difficulty," says *Mirandolina*. "I will have nothing to do with him; I like the roast but not the smoke. All those who come here make love to me, and they all end by asking me to marry them. It is not the same with the Chevalier Ripafratta. He makes himself out a countryman and acts like a bear; he is the first stranger who has come here who has not shown any pleasure in talking to me. He hates women! He will soon find one who knows how to teach him what is what!" Goldoni's *Mirandolina* shows exquisite delicacy; one word more or less, one gesture a little more bold, and she would have glided into triviality or impudence. Experience has made her independent; pride keeps her from being too humble, but she is never a prude.

Pantalone is Goldoni's mouthpiece; he is also the central figure of the Goldonian comedy and best representative of the Venetian middle class. His tall figure, pointed beard, dark clothes, big cloak, his slippers, most appropriate for the few steps separating Rialto from Piazza, his measured tones, politeness, long discourses, his cleverness in unraveling complicated affairs, and his ability to make the best of good opportunities—all this was as familiar in the city as in the theatre. Stationed in the *piazzette*, seated before the tables of the Café Florian or grouped on the Rialto Bridge, or in the evening filling the halls of the Ridotto, there were plenty of real Pantaloni such as one would see on the stage of the *Commedia dell'Arte*.

In the past he has been called "*Magnifique*," has been more cheerful. If he has aged and become more serious, it is because the magnificent Venice of earlier days has become shut in and her commerce has dwindled. Life has become more complicated and it is necessary to

be more industrious and clever. He becomes authoritative and dictates the law, he supplants the patrician, he becomes banker, lawyer, professor, and even minister of state, replacing the formerly venerated patrician. Pantalone is prudent but not cowardly. He no longer fights duels, but he faces an insolent and will threaten those who affront him. In *La Putta Onorata* he says to Ottavio, "Monsieur the Marquis, go and give your orders in your marquisate." In later plays Goldoni's Pantalone becomes more clever and less aggressive; he has had more experience. The evolution of this character through Goldoni's plays and in situations always slightly different portrays Goldoni's finest art. In Goldoni's comedies the moral flows with perfect naturalness and spontaneity, and if there is not always a triumph of virtue there is always a logical triumph: that logic which regulates so many things and which explains so many others.

CHAPTER XXXIV

Carlo Gozzi

PATRIOTIC fervor, religious emotion, poetic imagination, delight in verbal harmonies, dramatic sensibilities, being in love, the need of money, the desire to impart information, are some of the reasons why men write. Ambition, vanity, malice, and jealousy also seek expression through the printed page. Jealousy of Goldoni inspired Carlo Gozzi's plays. Yet Carlo Gozzi's own personality and his writings entitled him to consideration. Hatred of Goldoni was Gozzi's master passion. It reveals the relative position of the two men.

Carlo Gozzi (1720-1806) was descended from Pezolo de Gozzi, a warlike Lombard *condottiere* in the Milanese wars of the fourteenth century. Long established in Venice, the Gozzi family had absorbed all the patrician prejudices and qualities. Carlo began writing poems when only nine years old. When twenty, he had written a treatise on philosophy. Carlo obtained a government secretariat in the province of Dalmatia. He returned to Venice an accomplished cavalier, an adept in theatricals, dancing, and versifying, and with the swagger of a would-be military man. Mismanagement had dissipated the small patrimony. He composed satirical poems and boasted that he did not write for money. While thrones and empires were tottering, and society felt the impending catastrophe, Venetian titled fools played with airy bubbles. Literary groups multiplied and called themselves "Academics." While Goldoni in *Una della Ultime Sere di Carnevale* bade a melancholy farewell to his long faithful Venetian audience, Gozzi was being loudly applauded for his first *fiaba*, *Gli Amore delle tre melarancie* (1760). Such is the fickleness of public opinion; such was the perverted taste that attended the fall of a great nation.

Gozzi gave the theatrical troupe immense care and affection, and to Teodora Ricci, the leading lady, a passionate devotion. These senile amours are typical of Venetian customs. Gozzi's *Memorie Inutili* is a human document, a picture of eighteenth century Venetian customs, and is crushing evidence of Gozzi's ungenerous, soured nature. The Memoirs contain the history of Gozzi's entire life, and

narrate his rivalry with Pietro Antonio Gratarol, secretary of the Senate, who presumed to flirt with Gozzi's protégée, Teodora Ricci. Sacchi was rehearsing Gozzi's play *Le Droghe d'Amore*, imitated from the Spanish of Molina. Teodora Ricci thought that the Don Adone character resembled Gratarol. Caterina Tron insisted that the play be performed. On the opening night, fashionable Venice crowded the theatre. Teodora Ricci was elated, Caterina Tron was thrilled, Gratarol was raging. Storms of applause greeted Don Adone's appearance on the stage. His short rôle finished, the rest of the play was unheeded. Gratarol, who, in a single night became the laughing-stock of the city, resigned his position as secretary of the Senate and left Venice forever. Then he published a pamphlet defaming Gozzi, Caterina Tron, and many other patricians. The Senate confiscated Gratarol's estates, and he died in obscurity.

Misfortune followed Carlo Gozzi to the end. His melancholia became a real mania. His nerves were shattered and his imagination diseased. He had fits and hallucinations. The *Memorie* narrates this tormented existence up to the year 1795. How much more he must have suffered during the ensuing years until his death in 1806! Everything in Gozzi's world jarred with his ideals and prejudices. What greater agony to such a nature than the revolutionary changes in every branch of thought! What a terrible cry was the "*Liberté, égalité, fraternité*," shouted by the French invaders. Count Carlo Gozzi participated in the tragic fall of his beloved country, and could hope for no revival. Perhaps in the melancholy of his declining years, in the dim consciousness of a mind tormented by ambition and jealousy, perhaps this lover of all that was the greatness and splendor of his city of Venice realized that in her hour of need he had given Venice nothing better than foolish nursery tales and farcical representations of masks; then, indeed, would the end of Carlo Gozzi be sad enough to pardon the malice and venom of his jealous temper.

Even before Goldoni had started for Paris, Gozzi had won fickle Venice with a fantastic drama resembling the old *Commedia dell'Arte*. On the evening of January 25, 1761, Antonio Cacchi's company with enormous success performed Gozzi's *Fiaba dell'Amore delle tre melerancie* (The Loves of the Three Oranges). Once upon a time the King of Coppe's son Tartaglia was dying of ennui and consumption; his only cure was to laugh. Little old Fata Morgana appears, and Truffaldino tips her head over heels in a most humiliating manner.

The Prince laughs loudly and is cured. Inspired by vengeful Fata Morgana, Prince Tartaglia and Truffaldino undertake to conquer "The Three Oranges." In this strange adventure are the phantasmagoria of the Spanish theatre and the heroics of chivalric romance. Venetian audiences were pleased that these ancient masks which had amused so many Italian generations should live again on the Italian stage.

Gozzi writes:

"I presented *Gli Amori delle tre melarancie* to Sacchi's company of comic players and the extravaganza was produced in the theatre of San Samuele at Venice during the Carnival of 1761. Its novelty seasoned with trenchant parodies of Chiari's and Goldoni's plays created such a sudden and noisy revolution of taste that these poets saw in it the sentence of their doom. Who could have imagined that this twinkling spark of a child's fable should have outshone the universally applauded illumination of two famous talents, condemning them to obscurity; while my own dramatized fairy tales enthralled the public for many years?"

In 1762, after having given this *fiaba*, *Il Corvo* (The Raven), *Il Re Cervo* (King Stag), and *Turandot*, Sacchi's company removed to the larger theatre of San Angelo.

In his *fiabe*, Gozzi employed the four chief masks and the Servetta Smeraldina. Sacchi's rôle of Truffaldino was left to improvisation, but Gozzi wrote out some of the dialogue for the other masks. Stammering Tartaglia of the *Three Oranges* is the typical Neapolitan glutton and knave. The Tartaglia of the *Little Green Bird* is the carnal careless boon companion. A book of Neapolitan fairy tales *Il Pentamerone del Cavaliere Giovan Battista Basile, ovvero lo Cunto de li Cunti* largely inspired Gozzi's *fiabe*. Gozzi's plays tickled audiences but failed to interest Italian readers. To German and English critics, however, Gozzi is the harbinger of romanticism. In fact, fantasy is the product of his surfeited memory. His plays were vulgar caricatures but they contained valuable motives.

The *Little Green Bird* is Gozzi's best play. Ninetta had given birth to twins, Renzo and Barbarina. The wicked old Queen mother, pretending that these were only two spaniel puppies, ordered Pantalone to drown them and imprison her daughter-in-law Ninetta in a dungeon. The twins were not killed but were brought up by the peasant Smeraldina and her husband Truffaldino. Truffaldino has

lately turned the children out of his pork shop, and they wander in search of a home.

These children prattle philosophical maxims with as little comprehension as did Gozzi's Venetians. To the dungeon where Ninetta is buried alive the little green bird brings a bottle and a basket of food. To the audience he tells his own little story and the longer tale of Ninetta's woes. Renzo and Barbarina are wandering on a desert shore, seeking to forget their misery by talking of future good times. A statue of Cadmon joins in the conversation, presenting Gozzi's own philosophical viewpoint. In the last act, everything comes right. Tartaglia is transformed into a frog, Brighella into an ass. King Tartaglia learns that his daughter Barbarina cannot be his wife. After her long captivity under the sewer his Ninetta is restored to him, and the little green bird again becomes a royal prince and marries Barbarina.

Turandot, written in verse and prose, has been widely praised. Its merit lies in the evolution of Turandot's character. When Calaf has won the prize, Turandot declares that she hates him and will die rather than marry him. Chivalrous Calaf agrees to give the Princess another chance. If she guesses his name his life will be forfeited. Adelma loves Calaf and, to prevent the marriage, reveals the name to Turandot. Calaf lifts his dagger to pay the penalty. Turandot's love conquers her pride. She entreats Calaf to take her for his wife and obedient slave.

Gozzi never produced a true literary work of art. An ultraconservative, devoted to the old aristocracy, all foreign ideas disturbed his mental balance. Harbinger of romanticism, reviver of the *Commedia dell'Arte*, he personified and agonized in the crumbling of the old aristocratic Venetian order. "I lay my pen aside just at the moment when I should have had to describe that vast inundation called the French Revolution, which swept over Europe, upsetting kingdoms and drowning the landmarks of immemorial history. This awful typhoon caught Venice in its gyration, affording a splendidly hideous field for philosophical reflection. The ululations of the dreamers yelling out Liberty, Equality, and Fraternity deafened our ears. I always dreaded and predicted a cataclysm as the natural consequence of those pernicious doctrines. Yet my Cassandra warnings remained as useless as these Memoirs will certainly be."

It was not by accident that Goldoni and Gozzi appeared at the same

time among a people who had not yet given full measure to their genius in drama, comedy, or tragedy. Under a diversity of temperament and of literary accomplishment, Goldoni and Gozzi have certain traits in common. Each of them is utterly Venetian. The sum of their personalities and of their writings presents a remarkable picture of Venice at the close of the eighteenth century. Gozzi's rabid jealousy of Goldoni and the enormous excitement which their controversy produced in Venice seem almost incredible. It could hardly have occurred in any other city or in any other time. Hatred of Goldoni is Gozzi's passion; it is the inspiration of his plays. It was more than a hatred of personality; Gozzi loved all that Goldoni wished to destroy, he despised the common people whom Goldoni loved.

In his *Memoirs* Gozzi writes:

"We did not shun the theatres. We were not so unjust as to refuse his share of merit as a playwright to Goldoni. We did not confound him with Chiari to whom we conceded little. I recognized in Goldoni an abundance of comic motives, truth and naturalness. Yet I detected a poverty and meanness of intrigue, surcharged characters, scraps and tags of erudition stolen Heaven knows where and clumsily brought in to impose upon the crowd of ignoramuses. Finally, as a writer of Italian, except in the Venetian dialect, of which he showed himself a master, he seemed to me among the dullest, basest and least correct authors who have used our idiom.

"In spite of all the praises showered upon Goldoni, paid for or gratis, by journalists, preface-writers, romancers, apologists, Voltaire's with the single exception of his *Bourru Bienfaisant*, he never produced a perfect dramatic piece. At the same time he never produced one without some excellent comic trait. He displayed an extraordinary ability for interweaving dialogues in the Venetian dialect taken down verbatim in the houses of the common people, taverns, gaming halls, traghetti, coffee-houses, places of ill-fame and the most obscure alleys of our city.

"Audiences delighted in the realism of these plays. Never before had realism been so brilliantly illustrated, illuminated and adorned as *Putta Onorata* was not honest, that he had incited to vice while praising virtue. With regard to this point the four-mouthed Comic Theatre kept protesting that it wished to drive the time-honoured masks of improvised comedy off the stage, accusing them of impos-

ture, immodesty, and bad example for the public. I, on the other hand, clearly proved that Goldoni's plays were a hundred times more lascivious, more indecent, and more injurious to morals."

Gozzi also hated Pietro Chiari the Brescian. The spectacular plots of Chiari's plays were heightened by abundant plagiarism. His comedies were performed by the Sacchi and the Medebach companies. Carlo Gozzi calls him "the most inflated and bombastic writer who has adorned our century."

Gozzi's quarrel with Goldoni and Chiari, his alliance with Sacchi, the composition of the *fiabe* and twenty-three plays on Spanish subjects, the liaison with Teodora Ricci, the episode of Gratarol, and the *Memorie Inutili* are the outstanding events of his life. The Republic of San Marco fell. Aristocratic Gozzi bowed to the French Revolution. His old age was passed in solitude. When the old *Commedia dell'Arte* and the old actors died, Gozzi's *fiabe* were relegated to the marionette stage, where some of their *scenari* are still performed. Italy has ignored Gozzi and deified Goldoni.

The *Commedia dell'Arte* was the special glory of Italian dramatic genius. Carlo Gozzi wrote, "I reckon improvised comedy among the particular distinctions of our nation." Yet panegyrist Gozzi thus ululates against the "able comedians" of the improvised comedy:

"Among all the people to be studied by a philosophical observer none are so difficult to really know as actors and actresses. Educated in deception from the cradle they are such adepts in masking falsehood with an air of candour that it is most difficult to know their true heart and character. Barefaced boldness is the chief stock in trade, the very bone and marrow of these artists. There is no sort of impropriety, pretence, injustice, swindling, tyranny, which they do not gladly employ. Let no man suppose that it is possible to converse with actresses without making love. You must make it or pretend to make it. This is the only way to guide them to their own advantage. Love moulds and kneads them in flesh, bones, and marrow. Love is their guiding star from the age of five or six. In this respect, I soon discovered that the austerity of Sacchi's company was a barren formula. How many actresses lay siege deliberately and in cold blood to their lovers, despoil them of their property and suck them dry! They worship wickedness and abhor good living. Though they cloak their baseness with the veil of verbal decency, and preserve external

decorum, in their souls they trample on shame and sing this verse:

“Colla vergogna io gia mi sono avvezza.
(With infamy I long have been at home.)

They would have done anything to gain my heart. Meanwhile, their attention, protests, fits of rage, jealousies and tears on my account had all the scenic illusion of an overwhelming passion. Self-love is so ingrained in human frailty that men always fancy themselves preferred by the woman on whose very faults they put an indulgent interpretation. This was my case with the Ricci.”

Gozzi's love for Teodora Ricci was probably the only real romance in his long, lonely, and arid life. In Renato Simoni's play *Carlo Gozzi*, Ricci is shown as a typical Venetian actress, puerile and fickle, who loves Sacchi, Gozzi, and Gratarol at the same time. In the last act of Simoni's play Gozzi appears as a lonely old man. His old-fashioned servants make a comfortless home for the dramatist who has outlived his fame. Sacchi comes in to say good-bye and their meeting is pathetic. Gozzi sits surrounded by his servants, and Sacchi, straightening his stooping form, commences one of his traditional scenes. His jokes fall flat, his *lazzi* stir not even a smile. When the senile actor throws down his cap, his sobs of despair are echoed by his aged patron. They fall into each other's arms, and Gozzi's parting whispered word is a name which now trembles on his lips: “Teodora.”

CHAPTER XXXV

Metastasio

METASTASIO'S (1698-1782) dramas mark the transition stage between the old and new literature. Rome made him an Arcadian, Naples made him a poet. Metastasio was applauded, admired, almost worshiped during his lifetime. Abate Golt remarks in a panegyric delivered at the Arcadian Colony:

Diasi al greco coturno il primo onore.
Ma il forte Shakespere e il dolce Artino
Connobber piu di noi le vie del core.

"Let us give the first honor to Greek tragedy. Yet great Shakespeare and sweet Artino [Metastasio's name in Arcadia] knew better how to touch our hearts." Abate Cordara di Calamandrana names Metastasio the "Italian Sophocles." Goldsmith writes in *The Bee*: "Would it not surprise you that when Metastasio is so well known in England and so universally admired the manager or the composer should have recourse to any other operas than those written by him? I might say that 'written by Metastasio,' put up in the bills of the day, would alone be sufficient to fill a house, since thus the admirers of sense as well as of sound might find entertainment." Metastasio has since been neglected, and his conception of life, his philosophic ideal, and his style of literature have been scorned. Both these judgments need revision.*

Pietro Armando Dominico Trapassi was born in Rome, January 3, 1698. Our first notice of him is the story of his encounter with Gianvincenzo Gravina, in the piazza dei Cesarini in Rome. A boy of ten stands on a stone pillar, extemporizing poetry to his playmates. Two elderly gentlemen, on their way to the Farnese Palace, listen. One of these is the famous jurist Gianvincenzo Gravina. "The child

* Burney, C., *Memoirs of the Life and Writings of the Abate Metastasio*, 3 vols., London, 1796. The frontispiece bears this inscription, "*Omniaque ejus non solum facta, sed etiam dicta meminisset.*" John Hoole translated two volumes of Metastasio's dramas. A letter of thanks to him from Metastasio is dated October 13, 1768.

is pretty and his voice is beautiful; the verses follow each other with singular facility." Gravina, astonished at the ease and grace of the improvisation, bade him come to his house next morning. He so won Gravina's heart that he adopted the boy.

Pietro Trapassi (Metastasio) was ten years old when he was transplanted from homelike surroundings to a chill atmosphere of classical studies and a grave bachelor's propriety, and his name was translated by Gravina from Trapassi, into its Greek equivalent "Metastasio." Of the throbbing street life of Rome, of the sun and shade that constitute a boy's happy days, Metastasio henceforth knew nothing. Children in those days were not much petted; there was very little cruelty but also very little care and tenderness. Their amusements were few. Family portraits show the children in rigid composure and in strict observance of decorum.

Gravina took Metastasio to Naples, where the famous Hellenist and his pupil were warmly welcomed. At the Duke of Limatola's palace he was the central figure in a group of young, pretty, high-born girls. Two of these were to exert a lasting influence on Metastasio's life. One of them, Donna Marianna Pignatelli, already a widow, mother of five children, though only twenty years old, played a first rôle in Metastasio's amorous career; the other, Donna Francesca, probably saved his life, when she insisted that he be sent to her family residence at Massa di Somma, where Metastasio recovered from incipient lung trouble.

Metastasio resumed his law study in Rome. Gravina obtained for him the title of *Abate*. This clerical title was the first step towards advancement in many professions. His coat and waistcoat of soft black material, his tight silk knee-breeches, the short cloak hanging gracefully from one shoulder, on his head a cocked hat daintily poised on curly hair or small wig, were well adapted to set off the slender figure of a youthful *abate*. Metastasio "never afterwards discarded this garb." Gravina died on January 6, 1718, leaving a legacy to Metastasio, who shortly after moved to Naples and found a place with the famous lawyer Giovanantonio Castagnola.

Marianna Bulgarelli, called La Romanina, was a woman of social distinction, an actress and famous singer, and a patroness of musicians and singers. Metastasio, the applauded author of *Gli Orti Esperidi*, the protégé of Prince Borghese and of Marchese Belmonte Pignatelli, was a valuable addition to her salon. The exact nature of Metastasio's

relation with this great prima donna has been much discussed. Was it love? And if it was "love" what kind of love? Metastasio consented to return to Rome and live with Marianna Bulgarelli and her husband. In the case of Romanina's love-affair with Metastasio, we have merely surmise or gossip. Relations between the composer and the actor of a play were complex and intimate. When the collaborators are a much courted actress and a young good-looking author, inexperienced in love and art, and living in the same house, the natural conclusion as to their relations is drawn. Romanina introduced him to the world behind the curtain, and she stirred his musical talent. Metastasio took to music as a bird takes to flying. He could read the most complicated scores and sing the vocal parts of each, and could also compose canons. Romanina and her galaxy of musicians trained Metastasio to his profession.

Metastasio is said to have been paid 300 scudi for each one of his dramas, a considerable sum for a bachelor of regular habits, already provided with an income through Gravina's bounty. In Rome something serious happened. The anonymous biographer writes: "Free from all care Metastasio resumed his relations with Arcadia and with old friends. His good heart however got him into sad trouble. I cannot and must not narrate the cause, as some persons concerned are still living. I can only say that his polite partiality for a certain person produced against him and against her slanders that were only with great difficulty silenced." While Metastasio was threatened with a law-suit the girl very likely accepted the convent as a release from a painful situation.

In 1719 Metastasio gladly accepted the post of *Poeta Cesareo* at the court of Charles VI, though he claimed that 3,000 florins, the salary offered, was inadequate. No tie of affection, no moral bond, restrained Metastasio from accepting this offer. By leaving Rome, Metastasio did not desert Romanina, since she saw the advantage for him and urged him to go. In Vienna he lived with an Italian family, refused to learn German, avoided court ceremonies, made friends with Italians, and finally when he again fell in love it was with an Italian. His love for Marianna Bulgarelli and his attachment for Countess d'Althan are stressed because there is so little else to relate. There is also very little positive knowledge about these two romances. Metastasio carefully shielded the two women who gave him the best of their hearts and lives.

Romanina, like all married women who will neither abandon their position nor renounce their love, was most unhappy. She remained in Rome, chafed, and became jealous and exacting. O the sad story of these incompleated amours! Remorse has its compensations which are unknown to regret. When news came of Romanina's death, Metastasio did not conceal his grief but retired to his rooms and nursed his sorrow. He refused to accept the inheritance that Romanina had left him. He ordered his brother in Rome to burn all his letters to Romanina, as he had destroyed all her letters to him. The grief caused by one Marianna was assuaged by Marianna Pignatelli, Countess d'Althan, who may have been the first dream of the youthful poet, who in Naples saw her splendor of youth and beauty. After Romanina's death Countess d'Althan did a brave thing; she went openly to visit and comfort Metastasio. She carried him away to her country seat in Moravia, yet they respected appearances. Twice every day he visited his lady-love; first, immediately after hearing mass in the morning, and a longer visit in the evening. When Countess d'Althan died Metastasio wrote to Marchese Belmonte, "So many favors received, so many and so great qualities admired, a service, a habit, a friendship of twenty-four years, are ties that cannot be severed without a terrible shock." A veil surrounds Metastasio's relations with the Martinez family. The hypothesis of a paternity is not required to account for Metastasio's fondness for a girl whom he had known from her childhood. The devotion of the young woman who smiled on and cared for the aged poet explains the generosity of Metastasio's gift to the Martinez family.

Metastasio's last years were not happy. The glory which haloed his name could not soothe his sensitive heart. His memoirs and letters show him calmly awaiting the end of a life that contained little wrongdoing and much glory. Metastasio preserved religious appearances. He said that it was less trouble to accept the dogmas of the church than to discuss them. Death came kindly after a short illness. The Martinez family inherited his fortune, his furniture, and the precious legacy of his letters, which they either sold or gave to the Viennese archives. In the anonymous biography there is this description of Metastasio's appearance: * "He was of middle height, tending rather to stoutness but very well proportioned, his features were extremely fine and delicate, his black and penetrating eyes had a very

* Vol. II, p. 67.

sweet expression, his nose well cut, and his mouth rather large but adorned with a sweet smile and an air of composure, his cheeks full rounded and softly colored, his complexion clear with an additional bloom that added a finely finished charm to his physiognomy, which he preserved even to advanced age. His portraits are not all lifelike; he used to call them satires, rather than likenesses."

METASTASIO'S PLAYS

At what early dawn, in what leafy forest of a twilight creation, were words and music first blended for man's delight! From the first gropings of mimic, musical and poetical arts to the elaborate stagecraft of modern opera, the way is long, but it is uninterrupted. On January 21, 1599, in the Palazzo de' Bardi in Florence, a poet Rinuccini and two composers Jacopo Pieri and Caccini revived the Greek drama and produced the first Italian melodrama *Dafne*. Their achievement was an episode in the history of arts and letters. They created the opera. The evolution of melodrama in Italy followed a natural course. The blending of music with poetry appealed to Italians. In the *canzoni* of Rolli, Frugoni, and other Arcadian poets, in the development of strophes, are found the first efforts towards that reform of melodrama which Metastasio achieved, because he aimed at possible things. His lyrics are among the sweetest love poems ever sung. Metastasio selected the Italian *canzonetta*. It is the Italian *canzone*, which *trovatori* had breathed in the *corti d'amore* and free comunnes had sung in their popular festivals. Metastasio produced the larger and better part of his work during his first ten years in Vienna. As the dreary years passed, he wrote with increasing difficulty; but he never refused an offer.

Didone, the first truly Metastasio drama, contains the germ of his later works. There is swiftness of action, clearness of exposition, and solid construction. Dido is not majestic. She has the weakness and the folly of a lover, she declaims. She is the Dido of Tasso's *Armida*, set to music. Wherever this opera was sung it pleased. The fantastic, the real, the tragic, and the comic are life itself, the incidents are part of ourselves:

Sogni a favole io fingo; e pure, in carte
Mentre favole a sogni orno e disegno
in lor, folle che io son, prendo tal parte
che del mal, che inventai, piango e mi sdegno.

"Dreams and fables I call into being. And even as I put them on paper and adorn them, so much do they become a part of myself that (foolish as I am) I weep and rage at the ills I invent." This, perhaps the most popular of Metastasio's plays, has furnished many familiar quotations, and some of these sayings have passed into proverbs.

Consider the *Adriano*: The conqueror of the Parthians and their proclaimed emperor is betrothed to Sabina; he loves Emirena his enemy's daughter, who loves Farnaspe (Pharnaspes) a Persian captive. Aquilio, the confidant of Adriano, secretly loves Sabina and foment the passion of Adriano for Emirena. To save her father from death Emirena offers to marry Adriano. Sabina becomes generous too and releases Adriano. Adriano becomes generous in his turn and liberates the father of Emirena, restores Emirena to Farnaspe, and marries Sabina. Everyone is happy and the chorus intones the praises of Adriano. Looking more deeply into this heroism, we understand that it is a portrait of contemporary society in its greatest intimacy, in all its mediocrity, but dressed in heroic clothes. Our author conceived the heroic as his age conceived it. Metastasio wrote in perfect good faith.

That life had all the superficial illusions of reality, the music is merely the echo of the sentiment. The poetry is both music and song. So the drama ends in a Petrarchan sonnet. Listen to Aristeia describing herself to Megacle:

Caro, son tua così,
che per virtù d'amor
i moti del tuo cor
risento anch' io.

Dear, I am so much thine that
every movement of thy heart is
mine too.

Mi dolgo al tuo dolor,
gioisco al tuo gioir,
ed ogni tuo desir
diventa il mio.

Dost grieve? Then I grieve too.
Dost rejoice? Then I rejoice too,
Every desire of thine becomes mine.

Argene, who defies death to save her lover and feels she is lifted above herself as though possessed by a god, is sublime:

Fiamma ignota nell' alma mi scende;
sento il nume; m' inspira, m' accende,
di me stessa mi rende maggior,
Ferri, bende, bipenni, ritorte,
pallid' ombre, campagne di morte,
gia vi guardo, ma senza terror.

An unknown flame pierces my soul;
I feel within me a god who inspires
and enflames me, who makes me greater
than I am.

Cords, axes, chains, pale shadows of
dead people, I can look at you now,
and without fear.

The Metastasian world has harmony, cohesion, and inward life. It is the portrait of a languid thoughtless, effeminate, idyllic, elegiac, and plebeian society, whose institutions are still heroic but are empty now of the spirit that once had informed them. Powdered and perfumed, with its wig and its little jeweled sword, it is sensitive as a woman playing at love. And Metastasio is its right accompanist. Soon the masters of music judged Metastasio too much of a poet and not enough of a musician. For the word was substituted the musical note; and the new poets were Pergolese, Cimarosa, Paisiello. Thus ended the musical period of old literature, begun by Tasso, developed by Guarini and Marino, and brought to its close by Pietro Metastasio.

Metastasio gave many plays to the Imperial Court-Theatre, and he wrote many minor works for the imperial princesses. They all display a perfection of style and versification that his imperial employers failed to appreciate. His best works were written during the first ten years of his residence in Vienna, and the best of these are *La Clemenza di Tito*, *Temistocle*, and *Attilio Regolo*. Metastasio's *Temistocle*, unfettered by historical exactness, gives an imaginary portrait of the Athenian hero in exile. King Serse entrusts him with the command of his army. Temistocle accepts, but refuses to fight against Athens. Rather than fail in his duty towards his country, rather than fail in his duty towards King Serse, Temistocle will drink the poisoned cup. But his hand is stopped. In *Attilio Regolo* Metastasio and the melodrama reach its highest plane. Romantic episodes complicate

the plot, but the figure of Regolo stands out. Love, friendship, family ties, popular affection, accumulate obstacles to prevent the sublime sacrifice that he is resolved to make for his own glory and the safety of Rome. It was in the boisterous court of Poland that Regolo first uttered his martial speeches in this greatest of Metastasio's tragedies.

Woman's place in eighteenth century Italian society is mirrored in Metastasio's plays. His interpretation of the Italian woman is a spiritual reintegration of the eighteenth century Italian ideal. Metastasio understood a woman's emotions and made them articulate. In an enervated society, absorbed in aesthetic refinement and sentimental pleasure, Italian women influenced the political world of each petty state. They ruled by their *salotti*, termed in Venice *ridotti* or *casini*. Metastasio was initiated in Romanina's drawing-room. In Naples he visited *salotti* that retained the pomp and manners of their late Spanish masters, and the magniloquent Neapolitan courtesy. In Vienna, in the Countess d'Althan's princely society and in the imperial court, he saw the influences of women. In all Metastasio's dramas it is the woman who stimulates man to heroic or criminal deeds; it is the woman who assumes the responsibility for the crime and accepts the sacrifice. Metastasian heroines are submissive to the law of love. Each loves a hero-martyr, each offers her own life for his, or plots to release him. Always their amorous pains are expressed in pathetic strophes. His chief characters often are set in powerful relief; the second pair of lovers sing beautiful verses, but they have no personality. Metastasio had many of the qualities of a great tragic poet. In his later years Metastasio produced plays and sacred performances of scanty interest, until death released him from a life that seems to have been less pleasant in reality than it appeared to the onlooking world.

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CHAPTER XXXVI

Monti and Pindemonte

MILITARY intoxication, admiration of Bonaparte, and then despair, terror, cowardice—all are expressed in magnificent verse by Vincenzo Monti (1754–1828). Monti the man, with his alternations of humility and boasting, of audacity and fear, of generosity and meanness, also deserves consideration.

In May 1778, Abate Vincenzo Monti, a handsome youth of twenty-two, was invited to Rome by Cardinal Legate Scipione Borghese. Monti came to a city ruled by tyranny and seething with lewdness. Pope Braschi (Pius VI) was vain of his beauty, proud of the eagle of the house of Austria and the lilies of France on his coat-of-arms. His nephew Luigi Braschi-Onesti, an animal of a man, was married to a beautiful Roman girl with fulminating eyes and the figure of a Canova Venus. Monti's many love affairs culminated in his erotic amour with the Princess Costanza Braschi-Onesti, and then, in order to divert his attention from his dangerous liaison, he married Teresa Pickler, a Roman girl. And Monti then to his own surprise and to the distress of the Duchessa Braschi fell in love with Teresa Pickler. Amid these conflicts between lust and love, between patriotic illusions and disillusion, *Bassvilliana* was born. The invectives of the *Bassvilliana* against the French Revolution did not allay the Pope's suspicions. Monti fled to Milan, then to France (1797).

And so he wrote his fulsome Napoleonic poems: *Prometeo*, *Bardo*, *Spada di Federico*, and the *Palingenesi politica*. Then Monti turned against his hero Napoleon. He wrote to Lampredi: "The organization of this kingdom is the only one good thing Napoleon has done, but then what treatment does he give us Italians? He is making enemies of all the kings of Europe, who will triumph in the end. And we shall fall with him." When in 1815 the Congress of Vienna divided the Italian peoples like flocks of sheep, Monti sang the *Ritorno d'Astrea*, praising the Emperor of Austria. When the French Revolution became a sea of blood he wrote *Bassvilliana*, and then glorified the Austrian government. His works resound with the words

"justice," "liberty," "country," "virtue," and "Italy," but they have an empty sound. Monti's literary career ended with the Restoration. Henceforth all his hopes and tenderness were centered upon his wife and daughter Costanza.

His beautiful wife Teresa Pickler, whom Cantù ironically called "the flower of virtue," was courted by Foscolo, but he was denied her love, though she is the alleged heroine of the first edition of his "Jacopo Ortis." Monti immortalized her in these lines:

. . . La stella
 Del viver mio s'appressa
 Al suo tramonto; ma sperar ti giovi
 Che tutto io non morirò; pensa che un nome
 Non oscuro io ti lascio, e tal che un giorno
 Fra le italiche donne
 Ti fia bel vanto il dire: "io fu l'amore
 Del cantor di Bassville,
 Del cantor che di care itale note
 Vesti l'ira d'Achille."

. . . The star
 of my existence is about
 to set; but thou must hope
 That not the whole of me will die; think that
 I leave thee
 No obscure name, and one that some day
 Among Italian women
 Thy glory it will be to say: "I was the love
 Of the singer of Bassville,
 Of the singer who, with dear Italian notes,
 Clothed Achillean wrath."

Monti's idolized daughter Costanza was witty, beautiful, and was the object of much love, much hatred. Monti died in 1828, Costanza in 1840. Niccolini wrote to Maffei: "Within a short span of time Monti, his wife, and his daughter have passed away; few speak of them at all and most of these badly. Oh, the vainglory of human greatness!"

When Monti's classic tragedy *Aristodemo* appeared, Italians imagined they saw the pride of Dante, combined with the sweetness of Virgil. *Aristodemo* (1786) was a great success. *Aristodemo* is the sepulchral tragedy par excellence. For four acts the open tomb of Dirce is in view, and *Aristodemo's* thought is an anguished colloquy

with the shade of his slain daughter. The play remained popular in Italy even when classic tragedy was already passing from favor. Many of its lines have become proverbial.

The *Caio Gracco* (Caius Gracchus) had a clamorous triumph. In this play there is little action but much oratory. Cornelia is the legendary Roman mother, the *donna forte*. Opimio's invocation of the gods and apostrophe against Caio so thrills the listeners that Caio has difficulty in speaking. But when Caio pleads passionately for the ancient laws, the people are swept off their feet and, with drawn weapons, rush upon Opimio. But Caio bids them refrain and to "leave the tyrant to the torture of his remorse." Opimio meditates revenge. The last act shows Caio pursued by Opimio's lictors, rushing to his mother, asking her for a dagger; he stabs himself. Monti's plays offer splendid speeches for actors.

Giovanni Pindemonte was born on December 4, 1751; his brother Ippolito, several years later. When their father died both boys were sent to finish their education at the celebrated college of San Carlo in Modena. In 1772 Giovanni returned to Verona. He had social and political ambitions, and entered the Venetian *Maggior Consiglio* by marrying Vittoria Widman, a patrician lady. Like every Venetian woman of her social position she did not expect entire faithfulness from her husband. In a letter dated Venice, 1793, Giovanni wrote: "These last twenty days my beloved wife has been ailing. . . . Look here what a mishap! At the same time, my actual lady-love has fallen ill with same cough. . . . I have been dividing my time exactly between conjugal and amorous attentions, now sitting by one bedside and then by the other one. Thus I spend my whole time." Giovanni's attitude in the *Maggior Consiglio*, and his tragedies *Mastino della Scala*, and *I Coloni de Candia*, already had offended the *Inquisitori di Stato*; for this and for a quarrel with an injured husband, Giovanni Pindemonte was condemned to eight months' seclusion in the fortress of Parma. But Giovanni was back in Milan in January 1803. He returned to Verona, where he lived quietly and died in January 1812. He was the typical Venetian gentleman of the late eighteenth century, who desired to meddle with politics.

Giovanni Pindemonte's plays, *I Baccanali*, *Adelina e Roberto*, bitterly attack clericalism. His much applauded *Ginevra di Scozia* derives from Ariosto's *Orlando Furioso*. Princess Ginevra of Scotland loves Ariodante, the brave commander in her father's army. Dalinda's

lover Polisseno plots with her to ruin Ginevra's honor. Ariodante witnesses the opening of a window as he thinks by Ginevra, the lowering of a silk ladder and Polisseno clasped in a tender embrace. The King decrees the death of guilty Ginevra unless she is saved by a victorious champion in the lists in the "Judgment of God." But Ariodante is not drowned; clad in somber armor, he enters the lists and kills Polisseno. In *Cincinnatus*, Pindemonte discerned the career he would willingly have pursued himself. Cincinnatus tills his land, builds his house, is courteous to his successor in the command of Roman armies. Then suddenly one day a messenger from the Senate appears and directs Cincinnatus to put on his toga, a symbol that he, the simple farmer, has been created Dictator.

"I am proud to say that I never wasted a moment of my time when at school," said Ippolito Pindemonte. And this was true of his whole life. In 1793 Ippolito Pindemonte was in Venice, a constant attendant on Isabella Teotochi Albrizzi. In Venice such amours, or their poetical equivalent, were garlanded by gallantry, incensed with approval. Ippolito Pindemonte remembered his readings. His tragedy *Arminio* centers the struggle between public duty and private affection. The leader of the German Cherusci is opposed by friends and relations who love him, but who love liberty more. His son Baldoro kills himself rather than fight against his father. Telgaste, the friend and almost son-in-law of Arminio, vanquishes the tyrant, who dies repentant. In spite of the dignity of style, there are some traces of a new dramatic school, and the tragedy is poor.

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CHAPTER XXXVII

Vittorio Alfieri (1749-1803)

VITTORIO AMEDEO ALFIERI was born in Asti on the 17th of January 1749. His father died soon after his birth; and his mother accepted a third husband Count Giacinto di Magliano. Alfieri idealized his mother as prudent and loving. In fact Alfieri was a neglected child, who was entrusted to a family abbot, something between servant and tutor. When nine years old, Alfieri entered the *Accademia*, military college in Turin, which provided superficial classical instruction but neither trained the character nor directed the youthful conscience. When his guardian returned from Cuneo, Alfieri was granted a few privileges, read law, took dancing and fencing lessons, and was permitted to meet his sister. When his guardian died Alfieri, though only fourteen, was declared of age. At sixteen Alfieri experienced a quickly forgotten romance. He obtained a commission in the army and the King reluctantly granted him leave to travel, and for six years he was dissipated and idle.

Alfieri's first impression of Paris was unpleasant. His picture of the royal court of Versailles, of Louis XV's supercilious acknowledgment of the homages of his courtiers, is amusing. He frequented fashionable drawing-rooms in London, and enjoyed fast riding and driving. In the Netherlands he fell passionately in love. The accommodating lady gave him as much of herself and of her time as her complacent husband would allow. Then she wrote Alfieri a nice letter saying that they must part because she must protect her reputation. Alfieri was furious and pretended illness. When bled by a doctor he unwrapped the bandage and tried to bleed to death, but his servant Elia saved his life. Alfieri's passion cooled, he refused to marry and obtained another leave of absence. He wintered in Norway and enjoyed and drove swiftly in a sledge. He read, he traveled, always restless, always dissatisfied. He refused to meet Rousseau in Paris. In Lisbon he admired the learned Abbot Tommaso di Caluso, who furnished him with the intellectual food he craved.

Alfieri's autobiography is a literary masterpiece with well-balanced

contrasts, vivid coloring, and good drawing. It describes the kind of man Alfieri wanted to be, but Alfieri's private *Giornali* reveal its errors. On June 16, 1775, Alfieri's tragedy *Cleopatra* was performed and warmly applauded in Turin. Alfieri now retired to Cezannes, an Alpine village, and there and in Pisa he began an intensive study of pure Italian and worked at his plays. In 1777 Alfieri met Louisa Caroline Emanuelle de Stolberg-Gedern, whose father Prince Gustavus Adolphus had served Maria Theresa. Her mother claimed descent from Robert Bruce. Her husband Charles Edward Stuart, Count of Albany, the "Young Pretender," was a drunkard. Louisa and Charles were married in Loreto on Good Friday, April 17, 1772, the bridegroom displaying the full title of King Charles III with all its prefixes. They first settled in Rome, but in 1774 the Albany (or "Albanie," as the Pretender spelled his name) moved to Florence. Countess d'Albany possessed a certain exotic charm, haloed by whispered scandal and the bad reputation of her husband. This pseudo-queen roused Alfieri's love.

Jealous Charles Edward dared not affront Alfieri, though he bravely struck his wife. She entered a convent, and after her husband had departed, the Countess and her maid, escorted by Alfieri in disguise, pistols in his pockets, crossed the Tuscan frontier. Alfieri returned to Florence, the lady went to live in Rome with her husband's princely brother, the cardinal of York. There Alfieri freely visited his lady-love. A bizarre family arrangement, the story of the semi-royal amours of Alfieri and the Countess d'Albany has been often told. The fact that they could wander together in France and in England, and yet retain high social standing, reveals the moral criterion of the times. Charles Edward died, but the Countess d'Albany refused to marry Alfieri and thus lose her royal title. The fact is that by this time Alfieri and the Countess merely continued to play a rôle. Dante sang of his Beatrice, Petrarch poetized Laura de Sade, so the poet Alfieri must adorn his shrine with rhetorical flowers and pose for his public. This false idealization of his lady-love is not the only equivocation in Alfieri's autobiography. When he settled in Florence in 1793, he was tired and worried and subject to prolonged attacks of gout.

His home life with the Countess was dignified, if not as serene as he pretended. He flirted with a lady whom he visited almost every evening. While in Alfieri's own home, the painter François Cavier

Fabre made love to Countess d'Albany. Italian writers all condemn Alfieri's pseudo-widow. The Countess d'Albany shed easy tears for the death of her husband Charles Edward, she wept freely when Alfieri died, and she and Fabre, whom she married and to whom she bequeathed Alfieri's manuscripts, published their common grief for her pseudo-husband and Fabre's friend in the magnificent marble monument which Canova raised to Alfieri in Santa Croce.

One day at Savona, Alfieri chanced on a Plutarch. His heart beat fast. His thought may have been: "Why should I not be as great as They were? In every literary form excepting tragedy, Italy is immeasurably superior to all European nations. Italy is waiting for an Italian tragedy. Here at last is an aim worthy of Alfieri. I will become Italy's great tragedian." Alfieri evolved his own style; of his verses he says this to the pedants:

Vi paion strani?
Saran toscani,
Son, duri, duri,
disaccentati.
Non son cantai.
Stentati, oscuri,
irti, intralciati.
Saran pensati.

Do they seem to you strange?
Perhaps they are Tuscan.
They are hard, hard, and badly accentuated.
They are not sung,
They seem to you hampered, obscure,
Bristly and entangled.
Perhaps they are thought about.

Alfieri's tragedy represents the struggle of individuals, and is the lyric outlet of his own indignation. Alfieri took himself seriously. He sensed within himself a powerful personality standing alone in solitary greatness as on a pedestal, the "exemplar of a free man," and he trusted his fame to posterity.

Giorno verrà, tornerà il giorno, in cui
redivivi omai gl' Itali staranno
in camp audaci. . . .
Al forte fianco sproni ardenti dui,
lor virtù prisca ed i miei carmi, avranno;

onde in membrar ch' esse gia fur, ch' io fui,
 d' irresistibil fiamma avvam peranno;
 Gli odo gia dirmi; O vate nostro, in pravi
 secoli nato, eppur create hai queste
 sublimi eta, che profetando andabi.

The day will come, the day will come again,
 when the Italians, returned to life, will
 stand audacious on the battlefield.
 On their strong flanks will be two burning
 spurs—their ancient virtue and my odes. In
 remembering what once they were, and what
 once I was, they will be lit with an irre-
 sistible flame.

Already I can hear them saying: "O poet
 of ours, born in a decadent country, it is
 thou who hast created this sublime age, which
 thou didst never cease to prophesy."

Ma non inulta l' ombra mia ne muta
 starassi, no; fia de' tiranni scempio
 la sempre viva mia voce temuta.
 Ne lunge molto, al mio cessar,
 d' Ogni empio
 veggia la vil possanza al suol caduta,
 me forse altrui di liber' uomo esempio.

But my shade will not be useless or
 mute—no; my voice, as living and feared as
 ever, shall break the tyrants.
 It will not be long after my passing that
 I shall behold the power of the wicked
 brought low, and myself the exemplar of
 a free man.

Tiene 'l Ciel dai ribaldi, Alfier dai buoni ("Heaven speaks for the scoundrels; Alfieri for the good").

In these lines you get him exactly, the solitary Alfieri, who does not love, who does not understand things extrinsic to his own personality. Alfieri was a living flame, he knew nothing of the harmonies of life. His tragedy rages. But rage is not enough for a tragedy. Hence Alfieri's dramas are cold. There are maxims and mottoes a plenty but, except for Saul, the characters are dead today. Alfieri's personifications are not people. His patriotism came to him from a study of the ancient world. Nevertheless Alfieri's tragedies awakened a national

consciousness; his epigrams passed into the language; his vibrating poniard-sharp lines, his mottoes, condensed as a catechism, played a part in forming the new generation:

Venne quel grande, come il grande augello
onde ebbe nome, e all'umil paese
sopra volando, fulvo, irrequieto,
Italia, Italia,
Egli gridava a dessueti orecchi
ai pigri cuori, a gli animi giacenti;
Italia, Italia, rispondeano l'urne
d' Arqua e di Ravenna.

He came, the great one, like the bird whose
name he bore, and to the humbled country
overhead flying, brawny and restless. Italy,
Italy, he cried; and to deaf ears, to
slothful hearts, to dormant souls. Italy,
Italy, answered the graves of Arqua and Ravenna.

Thus grandly Carducci summarized Alfieri's apostolate. To slumbering souls and deaf ears he cried the magic word: "Italia." The tombs of Petrarch and Dante answered to Alfieri because they had uttered the same cry centuries before.

Alfieri's tragedies express the aspirations of a people whose political agitation was theoretical, who hated tyranny, yet feared to risk their lives for their ideals. Alfieri's patriotism, a mental effort to emulate Dante and Petrarch, is merely the lyrical outlet of his own emotional personality. This descendant of warriors and diplomats, an officer in the national army of Piedmont, wrote fiercely against Austria, yet never drew his sword. Alfieri's biographers have emphasized the political influence of his dramas, rather than weighed their literary value. His historical puppets express his own ideas. Alfieri wrote to Calsabigi, September 6, 1783, that he painted his personages with the colors of his own soul, molded their characters in resemblance to his own, but strove to make his people such as he imagined them. The plot, the characters, the events of Alfieri's classical plays, were fixed for him by classical models. Thus guided and restrained, Alfieri wrote *Agamemnon* and *Oreste*. In the first, Clytemnestra murders her husband. In the second, Oreste wreaks vengeance. Clytemnestra's terror of Oreste, yet her love for him, her torment under the perpetual reproaches of Elettra, her love for Egisto, embittered by his

ingratitude, present a magnificent situation which Alfieri made the most of.

Between Alfieri's *Oreste* and that of Racine is more than a difference of author personality; it is also the difference between two historical epochs. Racine portrayed a Hôtel de Rambouillet or court of Versailles hero, lovelorn and romantic, reveling in synchronous sentimentalism; Alfieri imagined an ideal, heroic figure. Agamemnon is a good king and most human. Clytemnestra, the woman slowly perverted by guilty love and prepared for the final crime, and Egisto are the true protagonists of the tragedy. Alfieri could not successfully delineate maternal love. His unnatural mother disposed of him when he was barely nine. His childhood was marked by no tender memories. There was no feminine tenderness in his own character, or in his attachment to the childless Countess d'Albany. Yet in 1782 Alfieri undertook to represent a mother's tragedy, and for this purpose composed his tragedy *Merope*.

Alfieri's *Merope* was to be "Mother queen in tragedy," who should interpret the anxieties, doubt, agonies, terrors, and hallucinations of a mother trembling for the fate of an only son. The success of the play in Italy and in France was due to Ristori's marvelous impersonation of Merope.

Saul is Alfieri's masterpiece. No other tragedy has been so often performed in Italy. Here is emotion, here is pathos, and here is a religious spirit which might have flowered in more congenial atmosphere. It is the stern Jewish interpretation of divinity. Since Alfieri required a tyrant for his play, God should be that tyrant. Saul knows that he has sinned and that he deserves divine punishment. He is tormented by remorse, even to madness, yet his terrors, like Lear's sufferings, appeal to every human heart. Especially admirable is the lyrical chant which David improvises to soothe the tortured soul of Saul.

Other passages in *Saul* are paraphrases from the Psalms, such as David's prayer; and they too are very beautiful. Saul is torn by conflicting passions. He contends with God; he is at war with himself. The crown trembles upon his head, the sceptre shakes in his hand, the iron has entered his soul, his radiant star has set, that of David has risen. Saul is terror-stricken, then fury is succeeded by prostration. He senses his impotence. The hallucination of his last delirium is not new to the tragic theatre. Saul rushes upon the stage terrified, suppli-

ant, pursued by the shade of Samuel. He exclaims: "What sound do I hear? Ah! it seems to me of battle! My helmet, shield, speak, now quickly bring me; now quick the arms, the king's arms. Die would I, but in the field!" He hastens where "lodges death whom he seeks." A madman, yes, but in his madness a majesty that inspires compassion, and admiration. In *Saul*, Alfieri interpreted the passion which he best understood, a life of clamors and of deliriums of glory. It proves what he could do when he adopted a biblical subject and forgot political propaganda. *Saul* and *Merope* are the only tragedies that Alfieri composed quickly and without effort.

Mirra is Alfieri's final masterpiece. It is *Mirra* the chaste, struggling against incestuous love for her father Ciniro. And the drama lies precisely in this terrified, horrified flight of the soul from an unclean obsession, from a destiny which, at every fresh effort to break its bonds, closes in around the horrified victim of unnatural passion. To eliminate the moral ugliness of *Mirra's* passion, it was necessary to create between passion and conscience a mortal dissension, a naturally pure mind struggling against an irresistible fate. But in this dualizing of the personality of *Mirra* and the dark mystery of her shameful obsession, it was necessary gradually to raise the veils of that soul, and sometimes even to tear them with swift audacity, as in the powerful Scene 7 of Act IV, where the brutality of the overwhelming passion betrays itself in the cry of the jealous woman against her rival, that rival being *Cecri*, her own mother; a horrible yet pitiful figure!

Alfieri's best plays were modeled on those already composed by others. He did not servilely imitate; but he needed the suggestion of a simple and grand model. In 1789, at Paris, all the tragedies saw the light in their definitive form. Alfieri's theatre opened with the dark figure of a bloody tyrant, and closed with that of a magnanimous tyrant. In Italian literature the importance of the Alfierian theatre is great; and many were the early *ottocento* Italian tragedies that it inspired. It directed a national political movement; a fact which entitles Alfieri to glorious remembrances. It contains fine traits and many fine details, but only two great creations: *Saul* and *Mirra*.

CHAPTER XXXVIII

Movements Toward a United Italy

CALLOUSED by chains, corrupt and contented, Italian nationalism reached its lowest depth in 1800. Dante's cry, "*Ahi! Serva Italia, di dolore ostello!*" might have been uttered in this first year of the nineteenth century. Yet Italy was gay, and strangers shared in the perpetual carnival. Then came the political hurricane. Napoleon crossed the Alps in May 1800 and won great victories. It is true that he pillaged Italian art galleries, levied cruel taxes, and that Italian youth died in his armies. But it must be remembered that he destroyed the Holy Roman Empire, limited the temporal power of the Pope, and by uniting various petty Italian states into larger groups gave Italians a sense of nationalism. The kingdom of Italy, the Venetian provinces, and Piedmont were aroused, were assimilated, were Italianized. Napoleon was Italy's benefactor. He almost created an Italian nation. He promoted *Risorgimento*. The French cried "Liberty!" and "National Independence." Behind their bayonets were Rousseau and Voltaire. It was propaganda sung to a cannon obbligato. French philosophy vitalized Italy, and the words "glory" and "liberty" echoed over all the land. Yet in 1800 patriotism was oratorical, a dreamland phantasy, and Italians at Naples and Milan waited in the royal antechambers, flattered their liberators, and expected compensation.

By the treaty of Lunéville (1801) Bonaparte abandoned Venice to Austria. The Genoa and Cisalpine republics were reestablished. Tuscany was granted to Louis of Bourbon with the title of king of Etruria, Ferdinando IV was king of Naples and Sicily, and Pope Pius VII ruled Rome. Piedmont was annexed to France, King Carlo Emanuele IV (1820) reigned over Sardinia. Bonaparte signed the "Concordat" with the Church, obtained the imperial crown in May 1804, and in Monza in 1805 seized the iron crown of the Lombard kings, with the haughty words, "God gave it to me, woe to whoever touches it." After Napoleon's fall the whole fabric of French recon-

struction seemed swept away, but the new bridges, roads, and buildings remained. For a brief period schools were free from clerical dominion, legal codes were reformed, convents were suppressed, and there was material, economic, intellectual, and scientific progress. But by the treaties of Paris and the decision of the Congress of Vienna (1814-1815), Italy was returned to servitude and dismemberment. Austria repossessed Lombardy and Venice, Parma was given to ex-Empress Marie Louise, Modena to Francis IV of Lorraine, and Tuscany, Rome, Naples, and Piedmont received their former rulers.

The hostility of the European "Holy Alliance," and the hatred of Italians against the restored foreign rulers, with their tyranny, spies, and suppression of free speech, compelled Italians to form secret revolutionary societies which assumed different names and used different methods in their attempt to secure Italian freedom. The most important of these secret revolutionary societies was the *Carbonari*. The *Carbonari*, which had originated in Naples during the reign of Murat, was continued after the return of the Bourbons, and spread throughout Italy between 1815 and 1820. In Piedmont, where the *Carbonari* was known as the *Federazione*, the revolution sought to drive the Austrians from the peninsula and to establish a constitutional government.

These repeated efforts of the *Carbonari* failed, because they were badly organized and were poorly supported by the people. When Giuseppe Mazzini realized the impossibility of obtaining independence through the *Carbonari*, he began the secret association called *La Giovane Italia* (1831-1846) for "God, the People, Liberty and Unity." The grand figure of Mazzini has been summarized in Carducci's immortal line *Tu solo, Ei disse, O Ideal sei Vero*. In his program for *Giovane Italia*, Mazzini said, "A revolution ripens through education, is prepared by prudence, is accomplished by energy, and sanctified by being directed towards the welfare of all." *Giovane Italia* especially sought recruits within the Sardinian army. But the police soon quenched the conspiracy (1833). After a decade of suppression, Young Italy again became active in 1843. Romagna revolted against the papal government, but the insurgents were beaten, imprisoned, and executed. The first Lombard revolt against Austrian domination was headed by Count Federico Confaloniere. He wrote to his wife (1814): "The Italians should remain united; if in the process of regaining our rights, the House of Savoy is to become

stronger, it is better to belong to it than to increase the number of states, or to form fractions of Italian duchies."

The carelessness of these conspirators was incredible. When Confaloniere was arrested he sent a note to his wife directing her to destroy certain hidden papers. When the Austrian police read the note they seized the papers which contained the names of Confaloniere's associates who were seized and thrown into prisons of Lombardy and Venice and the horrible dungeons of the Spielberg. The civilized world blazed with indignation at their sufferings. Vincenzo Gioberti's (1801-1852) *Primato Morale e civile degl'Italiani* (The Moral and Civic Preeminence of the Italians) was a sober, philosophic, and profoundly religious study of Italian conditions. The *Primato* (1842) was widely read. Gioberti's new political school, called "Neoguelfa" (1846-1849), sought a confederation of princes, presided over by the Pope, and expected to obtain liberal reforms from the various Italian sovereigns.

Following closely on the *Primato* of Gioberti came the *Le Speranze d'Italia* of Cesare Balbo (1789-1853). Balbo concluded that a confederation of the Italian states was the only practicable solution. Of the famous pamphlet by Massimo Taparelli, Marquis d'Azeglio (1798-1866), *Degli ultimi casi di Romagna*, Minghetti says that it was "the first practical exposition of the programme that substituted public, peaceful, serious, and courageous discussion of Italian affairs, in place of secret societies and plots." The prohibition of d'Azeglio's work increased its popularity. In 1845 d'Azeglio went to Turin and demanded an audience with the King. The king said, "Tell these gentlemen that when the time comes, my life, the life of my children, my army, my treasury, my all, will be spent in the Italian cause." As the plans of the Pope became more clear, those of Carlo Alberto became more liberal, though they fell far short of a constitution.

Thus we see that in the many states which together composed Italy, history from 1815 to 1870 covers the political insurrections against foreign and domestic foes which were promoted first by *Carbonari* (1815-1831), then by Young Italy (1831-1846) and the political "Neoguelfic School" (1846-1849); and then came the final period which witnessed the intervention of the house of Savoy and the formation of a "United Italy." In Lombardy and Venetia Austrian Marshal Radetzky's military methods spread terror. Victor Emmanuel II (1820-1878), king of Sardinia, in opening a new session of the

Subalpine Parliament (January 10, 1859) mentioned the cries of suffering which were directed towards him from every part of Italy; and a few days afterwards he signed a treaty of alliance with France. Napoleon III, descending with a French army into Piedmont, promised to make Italy free "from the Alps to the Adriatic." The United French and Sardinian armies were victorious at Montebello, Palestro, and Magenta; Victor Emmanuel II and Napoleon III entered Milan in triumph.

The war of 1859 left Italy free, but not "from the Alps to the sea." On the 11th of March 1860, Victor Emmanuel was proclaimed King of Italy, the heroic period of the Italian *Risorgimento* was ended, the era of romance was closed, a new era began; but it had yet to discover a new literary formula to give expression to new ideals. The kingdom of Sardinia now included Piedmont, Lombardy, Parma, and Piacenza, Modena, Ferrara, Romagna, Tuscany, Liguria, and Sardinia. In the kingdom of the Two Sicilies, Francesco II reigned, the unworthy son of an unworthy father.

Garibaldi's "Expedition of the Thousand" reads like a legendary romance. On May 5, 1860, one thousand cheering volunteers landed at Marsala, in Sicily; Garibaldi assumed the dictatorship in the name of the King of Italy, and in a little more than a month Sicily was free. Garibaldi crossed over to Calabria, and was welcomed as a liberator. Garibaldi and his troops won the battle of Volturno but did not capture the forts. Cavour decided to lend aid, and the fortresses were besieged and captured by the royal army. With the Piedmont army Victor Emmanuel II and Garibaldi entered Naples together.

When Naples and Sicily voted union with Italy, Garibaldi withdrew to his island of Caprera, carrying with him as his reward a sack of straw. A first Italian Parliament met in February 1861 in Turin. Members came from all parts of Italy, and represented almost every policy. On March 17, 1861, the constitution of the kingdom of Italy was ratified. In 1866 Prussia attacked Austria. Since Victor Emmanuel was allied with Prussia, the Italians expected to win their unredeemed provinces. Garibaldi's volunteers fought beside the regular Italian army. The defeat at Custoza by land (June 24, 1866), at Lissa by sea (July 20, 1866), crushed Italy's hopes, until by the Treaty of Vienna, Austria surrendered Venice to Napoleon III, and the French Emperor immediately conveyed it to Italy. On the 20th of September 1870 after two days' quiet siege, the Italian army entered Rome, a

Law of Guaranty having been passed by the Italian Parliament assuring independence of the Pope and liberty of the Church.

The connection between these political events and Italian literature is obvious. Literature and living, what men do and what men think, are the warp and woof of all social and political organization. In Italy perhaps more than in any other country in any age the political and the literary evolution are one. In Italy every action was first an idea. All progress toward Italian freedom and political unity was first a dream, then a literary expression, and finally an accomplished reality. Mazzini's mysticism and Garibaldi's imprudence, Cavour's diplomacy and Gioberti's Guelphism, the conspiracies of youthful enthusiasts and the plottings of oppressed intellectuals, all were needed to prepare and to achieve the liberation and unification of Italy. When United Italy became an accomplished fact, when accepted authorities ruled, when public opinion was limited to the rôle of spectator and critic, when the best blood of its citizens no longer flowed in the struggle for liberty, Italian literature ceased to be directly affected by the course of political events.

The era of heroism and romance, of rebellion and enthusiasm, closed in 1848. It was only after the open rebellion in 1820 that the national evolution demanded a new literature which would reflect this new Italian world. This nineteenth century Italian literature then should be and is the literary expression of contemporary Italian social life and political aspiration. Before it was translated into acts, the Italian revolution had been willed by a few superior minds; before the mass of the nation had been aroused to the necessity of shaking off the foreign yoke, Italian poets and novelists had dedicated their lives to enlightening and directing the movement.

Nineteenth century Italian literature was the child and the parent, the product and the inspiration of the Italian cry for freedom. Italian nationalism and Italian literature developed simultaneously. The first struggles for liberty (1821-1859), the secret plottings, the unpremeditated outbreaks of patriotism, represented the same spirit of romanticism which fiercely blazed in the wars of 1848 and 1849, shot its last glorious rays in the campaign of Garibaldi, and in 1859 sank into the quiet waters of diplomacy.

Pure heroes of romance were those first martyrs: *Ciro Menotti* the *Modenese* who in 1831 paid with his life for trusting in the promise of false Francis of Este. Heroes of romance, *Giuseppe Garibaldi* and

those other gallant youths who in 1834 tried to penetrate into Savoy. Knights of the Round Table, those brothers Bandiera who landing on the shore of Calabria were betrayed into the hands of the Bourbon soldiers, and as they stood waiting to be shot sang a patriotic chorus. For an instant they appear on this bloody stage, then pass from view like some fair vision. They always failed, but they did not die in vain. Nor fruitless was the living death in Austrian dungeons. Each of these attempts compelled attention, every act of bloody tyranny stirred sympathy. Every day the IDEA appeared more luminous. This nationalistic current was first expressed in the writings of Pietro Giordani (1774-1848). Following the blast of Alfieri's trumpet, Foscolo, Pellico, Niccolini, and other playwrights, even timid Manzoni, risked prison or exile in proclaiming Italian liberty.

CHAPTER XXXIX

Literature in the Period of the Revolutions

ALFIERI, Niccolini, Foscolo, Manzoni, oppressed by cruel laws, betrayed by false friends, watched by police spies; how dangerous the undertaking of these first apostles of a national ideal, how uncertain the result! But ideals are inexorable, ideas are compelling. The soul of a nation struggling against tyranny, against obscurantism, is reproduced in Manzoni's *I Promessi Sposi*, and in Nievo's *Le Confessioni d'un Ottuagenario*. These romantic novels were a true presentation of a psychic moment, but they were a false reflection of the national temperament. Italian literary realism came at the moment of a great national despondency. It exploded romanticism, and after a short and inglorious life in the Italian novel made way for the psychological romance. A step at a time, the long way was covered. But to understand this fiction we must remember that regionalism which still characterizes Italian literature. A novel or play may succeed in Turin or Milan and not in Florence or Rome, and be a complete failure in Naples and Palermo. Individualism is instinctive to Italian fiction. Verga describes low life, and suggests reform. De Amicis stresses sentimental appeal. Rovetta reveals social sores and shows the impending social cataclysm; Neera studies woman's wrongs and suggests the manner of relief. But neither individualism nor regionalism rejects that craving for sensuous beauty and glory in pagan ideals which pervades all branches of Italian art.

The classicist and romanticist struggle began in 1816 in an article by Mme. de Staël, exhorting Italian writers to study foreign literatures. The article roused controversy between the *Biblioteca Italiana* of Milan, a monthly review subsidized by Austria, and the *Il Conoscitore* review, which was fiercely patriotic and national.

Manzoni's *Promessi Sposi* (1827) and Monti's death (1828) marked the end of classicism, but romanticism still flourished exuberantly. The now forgotten novels of G. B. Bazzoni of Novara, *Il Castello di Trezzo* (1827) and *Falco della Rupe* (1829), and the *Angiola Maria* (1839) in which the Milanese Giulio Carcano depicts the familiar

tragedy of a girl consumed by unhappy love—all found favor. Tommaso Grossi's *Marco Visconti* and Massimo d'Azeglio's *Ettore Fieramosca* and *Niccolo de' Lapi* are more important.

Grossi (1790–1853) was born at Bellano, took his law degree in 1810 at Pavia, and in 1815 composed the *Prineide*, which attacks the restored Austrian government. The verse novel was brought back to honor by Grossi. The melancholy situations and forced emotions of Grossi's *Fuggitiva* (1816) and *Ildegonda* (1820) passed to other Italian novels. Grossi's heroic poem *I Lombardi alla prima crociata* (1821–1826) brought him a large profit. In 1831 he opened a notary's studio and lived in tranquillity till 1853. Grossi's poems are forgotten, but his novel *Marco Visconti* presents a gorgeous pageantry of jousts, feasting, and fightings with an amazing detail as to mediaeval Italian customs; yet Grossi's novel is but a weak imitation of *Promessi Sposi*. Cesare Cantù (1804–1895) of Brivio in the province of Como is a pure romanticist. His novel *Margherita Pusterla* (1839) is a fourteenth century Milanese conspiracy. Clerical partisanship warps Cantù's immense *Storia universale*, published in thirty-five volumes (1838–1846).

Parini called Italians to a renewal of moral obligation, Alfieri aroused their sense of political responsibility and, with Monti and Foscolo, inspired modern Italian literature. In the early nineteenth century science and philosophy followed the *settecento*. Rosario Gregorio composed his mighty *Considerazioni sopra la storia di Sicilia* (1806).

Many writers imitated Livy, Tacitus, and the great *cinquecento* historians. Carlo Botta of San Giorgio Canavese (1766–1837) in his *Storia della guerra d'indipendenza degli Stati Uniti d'America* (1809), *Storia d'Italia dal 1789 al 1814* (1824), and *Storia d'Italia continuata da quella del Guicciardini sino al 1789* (1832) gives much information.

The Neapolitan Pietro Colletta's (1775–1831) *Storia del reame di Napoli* (1734–1825) vividly presents Neapolitan events, for the most part as lived by the writer. It is a terrible indictment of King Ferdinand. While in exile Vincenzo Cuoco (1770–1823) composed his *Saggio storico sulla rivoluzione di Napoli*, a noteworthy little work. Pietro Giordani was born at Piacenza in 1774 and entered the Benedictine Order (1791–1797). After the battle of Marengo (1800) he fled from the monastery, and was banished and imprisoned for his

patriotism. He died September 14, 1848. Giordani was master of style, and in eulogy, literary history, art criticism, pedagogy, and politics he manifested wide learning.

Antonio Cesari (1760–1828) worshiped words, and with bitter polemic championed the *puristi* school of Venice. Monti's *Proposta di alcuni correzioni ed aggiunte al Vocabolario della Crusca*, in seven volumes (1817–1826), is in vivid prose. Monti opposes Cesari's exclusive Tuscanism with "the common national language, enriched with scientific terms and good innovations, the docile instrument of living and active thought." Vernacular poetry flourished at the beginning of the nineteenth century. Palermo had its Meli (1749–1815), Venice its Buratti, and Milan its Porta. Venice possessed many *settecento* poets who composed in the vernacular. They were all surpassed by Pietro Buratti (1772–1832). He satirized customs and persons, and sang of love without delicacy. Carlo Porta (1775–1821), one of the greatest Italian vernacular poets, versified in his Milanese dialect. Here is a whole group of living figures. Here is Giovanni Bongee (1818), the weak little man of the people, who boasts of his courage and is shamefully abused by the French soldiers; we hear the lamentations of the unfortunate cobbler and mandolin player; we are introduced to Fra Condutt, Fra Diodatt, Fra Zenever, and other miserly, greedy, irreligious priests and friars.

UGO FOSCOLO

Nicolo Ugo Foscolo (1778–1827), born in a humble home in a small Ionian islet, January 26, 1778, was the eldest child of Andrea Foscolo, a physician of Venetian origin, and of beautiful Diamante Spaty, who was of pure Ionian descent. Foscolo was a timid gangling youth, with reddish hair and stooped shoulders, yet he was loved by many women. A soldier of the Republic, he fought at Cento, in the Trebia, at Novi and at Genoa; then after the treaty of Campo Formio (1797), he fled to Milan and there met Parini, Monti, Pindemonte, and other intellectuals. He loved Isabella Roncioni of Pisa, but she was rich and he was poor. A daughter born of his love affair with Sophia Emery, an English girl, was brought up by her mother's relatives. In Milan and in Pavia there were more amours, and there was the lady he ever graced with the title "Donna Gentile."

Quirina Mocenni's marriage to idiotic Maggiotti was not considered very binding. Quirina loved Foscolo absorbingly, but after the

passionate honeymoon had ended, Foscolo became the tender friend, but Quirina loved on. She gave Foscolo money when he was hungry; pretending that it came from the sale of his books.

When the *Regno Italico* fell in 1815, Foscolo escaped to Switzerland and then to England. After the first years of splendor, Foscolo's obscurity was brightened alone by the love of his daughter Floriana and the fitful remembrances of a few friends. When Floriana brought him the money which she had inherited from her grandmother, Foscolo spent it with an extravagance that brought ruin and disgrace. Generous Hudson Gurney provided him at last with a decent dwelling in Turnham Green, and there he died on the 10th of September 1827. From the churchyard of Chiswick, his remains were transferred to the Italian Pantheon of Santa Croce, in Florence. Those whom the gods love die young. Early death should have come to Foscolo. He lived on and remained a romantic and a spendthrift at an age when he should have been respectable and thrifty.

Niccolini and Manzoni sang the name of Italy. Their alarm rang out in the silence of a Nation's night. "*Due secoli l'un contro l'altro armati*" is Manzoni's description of that period of endeavor and disappointment. Foscolo's *Lettere di Jacopo Ortis* came then from the shoals of a Venetian lagoon like a cry of disillusionment.

Truth was a dream, progress was a lie; after the madness of hope came the madness of despair. The *Ultime lettere di Jacopo Ortis* thrills with a passion for liberty. Its sentimentalism began that romantic duel between the Austrian-protected *La Biblioteca Italiana* which fostered classicism, and *Il Conciliatore* which proclaimed liberty and romanticism.

Foscolo's *I Sepolcri*, some of his sonnets, his odes to Luigia Pallavicini and to "*L'Amice risanata*," and the fragments of his *Carme* are among the finest specimens of Italian poetry. Mankind is incurably religious. Mankind demands the prop of faith. When there is no vision the people perish. Because the Republic had passed a law ordering equality of burial, was a man like Parini to lie in a ditch, like a common thief? Through all the lofty centuries the tombstones of the immortals inspire mankind. Mortality demands immortality and the living turn to the dead for inspiration.

Foscolo grasped the philosophical principle and molded a shining phantasmagoria. *I Sepolcri* and *Lettere di Jacopo Ortis* for two generations expressed Italian thought. Foscolo's *Tieste* is written in the

style of Alfieri, and is dedicated to him. *Tieste* has a broad political purpose. *Tieste* is the vindicator of justice and liberty.

Foscolo's tragedy *Ajace* is an heroic poem with many faultless lines. The spirit of antiquity is here on an epic plan. Ajax claims Achilles' arms; Agamemnon denies. The battle with the Trojans rages fiercely; Ajax will not survive the defeat of his people. In the second act Calcante speaks to Agamemnon, Epos breathes, past glories are conjured, the awful night, the maddened Greeks entreating Calcante to placate the Erinyes, as Iphigenia clings "with cold trembling hands clasping mine, raising her eyes to heaven." Agamemnon answers that the torment which has been inflicted on him by the Erinyes he will force upon all the others. "I alone will be my judge and my executioner. I scorn both your tears and your praise; I want only your terror." In the third act the Ulysses narrative is magnificent. The fifth act is beautiful. It describes the conflict as seen by Calcante and deplored by Tecmessa, and Ajax' dying words—his farewell to the sun.

This was the last and perhaps the best of Italian tragedies. Comparison between Foscolo's *Ajax* and Alfieri's *Saul* is inevitable. In his *Prolusione*, his lessons, and his critical writings Foscolo's prose is not French, nor yet is it Tuscan. His *Grazie* was the last flowering of Italian classicism.

Nature and education intended Silvio Pellico (1789–1854) to lead a humble and quiet life. His youth was a poem, his prison a tragedy, his last years a dirge. Silvio Pellico was born on the 28th of June 1789, a puny babe whom his mother barely kept alive. After four years with an uncle in Lyons he returned to Milan, was welcomed by Foscolo, became private tutor in the house of Count Luigi Porro Lambertenghi (1816), and was plunged into the seething waters of conspiracy.

Pellico's tragedy *Francesca da Rimini* was performed by the famous actress Carlotta Marchionni, and Pellico was invited to her hospitable house where he met and loved the great Carlotta's cousin Teresa Marchionni. While Pellico courted Teresa (Gegia) Marchionni, Piero Maroncelli courted Carlotta. In 1820 Pellico was arrested and tried for conspiracy. In 1822 from the balcony of the Ducal Palace the sentences of death against the conspirators were commuted to fifteen years' *carcere duro* in the dungeons of the Spielberg.

Pellico thus describes his first night in the Spielberg: "When I found myself alone in that horrid cavern, heard the closing of the

iron doors, the rattling of chains, and by the gloomy light of a high window saw the wooden bench destined for my couch, with an enormous chain fixed on the wall, in sullen rage I sat down on my hard resting place." The heavy fetters chaining his legs prevented him from sleeping. He was refused a straw bed when very ill. Well could Gioberti dedicate a book to him, as "the first Italian patriot." Pellico lives gloriously in a little prose work *Le mie prigioni*. It was first published in 1832 at Turin, was read everywhere, and was translated into many languages. Pellico collects and selects, speaks of tender friendships and illumines all with the high light of ideality. The book moves, comforts, and delights. The style is simple, the language is fresh and natural. After his release, he lived with Merchesa Baroli in Turin. He died in January 1854, aged sixty-five.

His play *Francesca da Rimini* had a tremendous success. Francesca loves Paolo, who after killing her brother has fled and left Francesca to nurse her sorrow. She is persuaded to marry Paolo's brother Lanciotto. Here comes the first tirade which was to become a war-cry for years: "For whom was my sword tainted with blood? For a stranger. Have I no country for whom her sons' blood should be sacred? For thee, for thee, my Italy, will I henceforth fight, if outrage is done to thee by envy!"

Such a passage, wildly spoken, compensated for any amount of nonsense. Paolo breaks upon Francesca's solitude, and the classical *scena d'amore* is performed; and finally that cry of passion which every Italian has repeated at least once in his life, "T'amo, Francesca, t'amo e disperato e l'amor mio" ("even if it must be punished by everlasting chastisement, this love will endure in everlasting passion"). Lanciotto enters and kills both Francesca and Paolo.

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CHAPTER XL

Manzoni and Leopardi

ALESSANDRO MANZONI (1785-1873) the only son of Don Pietro Manzoni, a Lombard nobleman, and of Giulia Beccaria, daughter of the author of *Dei delitti e delle pene*, was born in 1785. He was educated by the friars in the Church schools of Lugano and Modena. Freed from his clerical schoolmasters in 1803 he studied the Latin and Italian classics and read the poetry of Parini and Monti. Then he went to Paris and lived with his mother and Carlo Imbonati, to whom Manzoni was greatly attached. In 1810 he married Henriette Blondel according to the Protestant rite; but Manzoni never rejected the teachings of the Roman Catholic Church to which, with his wife, he was afterwards united.

Either in the country at Brusuglio or in Milan, Manzoni's peaceful home became the meeting place for men of learning. Of his six children, death took three daughters in the flower of youth. After twenty-three united years, his wife Henriette died in 1833. He remarried, that his children might have a mother's care; yet always he mourned for the youthful bride of whom he wrote, "Every day I resign her anew to God, and every day I ask her again from His hands." When he lost his second wife, lost sons and daughters and friends, his health began to fail, and the death, in April 1873, of his son Pietro was the final blow. The next month his own life ended quietly. Manzoni was *le chevalier sans peur et sans reproche* of Italian literature.

Eighteen hundred and fifteen is a memorable date in history. The Middle Ages were exalted. The Monastic Orders were called benefactors, the papacy stood for liberty and progress. "Faith," "religion," "Christianity," were popular words. And in 1815 came Manzoni's *Inni Sacri* (Sacred Hymns). As Foscolo's odes closed the eighteenth century, the Manzoni hymns opened the nineteenth. The lost Christ was found again. The supernatural became accepted history. These *Inni* are "liberty, equality and fraternity," evangelized. It is Christianity modernized.

In *Il Cinque Maggio*, an epic in lyric form, we adore the mystery

and bow to the divine decree. It is an immense synthesis of the life of Napoleon, his deeds, his inwardness, his historical acts, his influence on contemporary life, his pensive solitude; and always he is directed by some higher power.

Manzoni's program for a romantic tragedy *Il Conte di Carmagnola* is expounded in his *Discours sur les trois unités*. There is much history in this tragedy, and the action, from 1426 to 1432, includes salient facts in the life of the great captain of mercenaries Francesco Bussone. Here also is Venice, devious in aims and policy. Manzoni's play opens with a sitting of the Senate; the Doge proposes an alliance with Florence in order to make war against Filippo Maria Visconti, and suggests that Carmagnola should command the Venetian army. Carmagnola receives the Senate's commands. In the third act Carmagnola, against orders from Venice, releases his prisoners without ransom, saying that such was the custom among mercenaries. Carmagnola in his tent rejoices over the honor of being summoned to the presence of the Ten, but he walks into a trap. Carmagnola pleads for a fair trial but is answered by the entrance of guards who lead him to a secret prison and a more secret tribunal. The pathetic fifth act recounts the adieux of Carmagnola to his dear ones. Is Manzoni's Carmagnola a Christian hero? Or is he a Wallenstein, grandly ambitious and grandly dreaming?

The novel *I Promessi Sposi*, published in 1826, is the recital of the humble adventures of two village lovers whose union is thwarted by the cowardice of some, the violence of others, and by the complications of public events. Around Renzo and Lucia, all Lombardy, all seventeenth century Italy, unfolds its miseries, its unrest, and its aspirations in the epoch of the Spanish domination.

Two fierce *bravi* stop Don Abbondio, the curate of a small hamlet, and in the name of their master Don Rodrigo threaten him with death if he attempts to celebrate the marriage arranged for the morrow between Renzo Tramalgiano and Lucia Mondella. At nightfall the betrothed steal into Don Abbondio's house attended by two witnesses, and almost get through the marriage ceremony. The curate recovers his wits, stops them, and rouses the neighborhood by his cries. Misfortune follows these poor people. Renzo arrives at Milan at the moment of a bread riot, compromises himself, and is arrested. He escapes and flies to Bergamo. Lucia is betrayed into the hands of the "Unknown," a friend of Don Rodrigo's. Shut up in a castle cham-

ber Lucia is in despair. Suddenly the heart of this "Unknown" is changed, and he frees Lucia. But alas, she has vowed to renounce her lover and to consecrate herself to the Virgin Mary.

The plague breaks out in Milan and an army wastes the country. Renzo seeks Lucia in the stricken town. He encounters Fra Cristoforo, who is ministering to the sick, then sees Don Rodrigo dying of the plague, and last of all discovers Lucia, convalescent from the infection. Fra Cristoforo, having freed Lucia from her vow of virginity, dies from the plague, and the betrothed are married by Don Abbondio and go with Agnese to enjoy a happy home in Bergamo.

In these days, even in Italy, the frati pass unobserved. But in Manzoni's day, to the prince in his palace the dweller in the sordid hovel was his brother. Shakespeare's Friar Laurence and Manzoni's Fra Cristoforo both are Italian; both are connected with a love affair. But the friar of *Romeo and Juliet* is in sympathy with all nature. "The grey-eyed morn smiles on the frowning night," "the powerful grace that lies in herbs, plants, stones"—all these he studies and loves, but also he knows that a young man's love lies in his eyes. He strives to bring peace to the warring houses of Montague and Capulet.

Manzoni's friar Lodovico (Fra Cristoforo that is to be) was a young man of brilliant talent, but sowing his wild oats and reaping a plentiful harvest of brilliant experience. In a street brawl Lodovico kills a man. He lies there dead. Lodovico realizes that he is a murderer. He is appalled. He escapes to a neighboring convent, conveys his property to the widow and children of Cristoforo, whom he has slain, and at the age of thirty takes the religious habit, and chooses a name that will continually remind him of his sin, the name of the slain Cristoforo. Before he departs for a distant cloister, the newly made friar wishes to supplicate the pardon of the murdered man's brother. On the appointed day the Seigneur stands in the center of the room, his right hand crossed over his breast, his left hand grasping the hilt of his sword; he enjoys his rôle as chief actor in this drama of forgiveness and reconciliation.

Toward the end of the tale Cristoforo is in the Lazaretto, surrounded by the saddest spectacle that human misery can present. Renzo espies Fra Cristoforo, death's seal already is stamped on the friar's face; Renzo curses the author of his misery. "Miserable man," exclaims Fra Cristoforo, "behold all around us the one who punishes!

Do you know why I wear this garb? I, too, have hated with all my soul; and the man I hated, that man I slew." "Ah, if I could but instill in your heart the sentiment I have had ever since and still have for the man I hated! If I could! If I could! But God can! Listen, Renzo . . ."

Cristoforo rises above human frailty, his soul radiates an exquisite charm, a sanctity above this earth. In this novel Cardinal Borromeo is the ideal priest and his counterfoil is that most popular of all Manzoni's characters—Don Abbondio. The Italian theatre presents no more comical scene than the attempted marriage by surprise in Don Abbondio's house. Perpetua is almost as popular as Don Abbondio. Her name has become the common noun for any middle-aged spinster attached to a clergyman's service.

A comparison between Boccaccio's and Manzoni's description of the plague measures the difference between the Renaissance viewpoint and that of the risorgimento. Boccaccio describes vividly what he has seen. The deserted town, the sick dying solitary, the dead lying unburied. If friends and relatives avoid each other, if magistrates flee from danger, Boccaccio does not blame them. Whereas Manzoni's novel is an eloquent exposition of the law of love.

Francesco Domenico Guerrazzi (1804–1873) was born at Leghorn. At fourteen he ran from home and studied law at Pisa University. In 1828 he attacked the grand-ducal government and was sentenced to banishment. While in prison he wrote his most famous novel *L'Assedio di Firenze*, which was a clamorous success. Upon his release, he retired to his country place. He shunned marriage, but neither his vulgar companion nor his adopted nephew gave him joy. Guerrazzi admired Byron; but Victor Hugo and the French Romantics provided Guerrazzi's model for *L'Assedio di Firenze*. Personages swarm across the scene, strange harrowing figures appear and disappear. The dead return to life, lunatics recover, innocence is outraged, vice is triumphant. It is all startling contrast and incoherency.

From Shelley's "The Cenci" he obtained the idea for his *Beatrice Cenci*. Beatrice and her crippled brother Virgilio are in Palazzo Cenci. They speak of their misery, and comfort each other. "Nero, there! at him! . . . at him!" and with both hands Count Francesco excites the bloodhound against his crippled son. Virgilio falls senseless at his sister's feet. Beatrice snatches a sword from a niche in the wall and severs the dog's head, and the beast dies with a horrid howl.

Count Francesco approaches, dagger in hand. Beatrice points the bloody blade at his heart. "Her wide-open eyes dart living flames, her dilated nostrils are throbbing! Her lips tightly pressed, her bosom panting, her disheveled hair streaming down her shoulders! Her left foot is firmly set; her head lifted, her body upright; her left hand clenched; and her right hand, armed with the sword, is resting on her hip, already in action! Neither painter nor sculptor could ever represent this beautiful appearance. Language cannot render it. The maiden beams so radiant that she dazzles mortal eyes."

This turgidity was accepted in Italy as great writing. Guerrazzi's short stories often are luminous. *La Duchessa di San Giuliano* is a story of love and vengeance told with terseness and sobriety. Veronica Cibo, wife of Salviati, Duke of San Giuliano, discovers her husband's amours with beautiful Caterina Canacci, a *popolano*. The Duchess stabs her rival, severs her head, and sends it to the Duke, inside the basket containing his fresh linen.

La Serpicina is a jewel of reconstruction, an imitation of the old Italian *novella*, spiced with the wit that savored the ancient French *fabliaux*.

Industry, much reading and assimilation, goodness, gentleness, made Tommaso Grossi a poet. He was born in Bellano in 1791, studied at the University of Pisa, obtained his degree as a lawyer, and died in Milan in 1853. Grossi's poems are forgotten, his novel *Marco Visconti* still has admirers. It is a story of love, set in an historical frame. Bice del Balzo is married to Ottorino Visconti, is abducted by the zealous retainers of Marco Visconti her rejected suitor and is imprisoned in a castle, and dies bidding her husband forgive. The volume presents gorgeous pageantry, faultless detail, harmonious development. Jousts, feastings, fightings, all are described; and much information is given about mediaeval Italian customs. But never is a real event enacted by a living person.

Grossi also writes the short and simple annals of the poor. In a hut by the lake-shore two aged parents lament the death of their only son, drowned in a storm. By the table, under the iron lamp hanging from the roof, old Marta sits and spins. Her lips move in prayer, but there is no sound. Now and then she looks at the empty bed, then lifts her brimming eyes heavenwards, imploring God to take her to her Arrizzotto. Michele sits by the fire, with his back to his wife, and mixes porridge of milk and wheat.

"When half an hour had thus passed the old woman rose from her chair, laid down her distaff and took the pot from the fire, then as she stood before the dresser engrossed in her prayers, she set the three dishes on the table, with a spoon near each, and ladled out the soup in all three, saying: 'Michele, are you coming?' As her husband walked up to the table she saw her mistake, and hastened to set one of the dishes on the ground as if for the little dog. Michele noticed the third spoon lying there for the dead son, and taking his own dish he turned again to his place, with his back to the table." The desolate meal proceeds in silence; then the afflicted parents scold each other for not eating and find some comfort in spending their last coins to have a mass said for the dear departed soul.

Romanticists claim Leopardi; yet he is purely classic in his concept and his fancy. Giacomo Leopardi (1798–1837) was born at Recanati in the March of Ancona on June 29, 1798, of a rich and noble family, devoted to the Church. For seven years (1810–1816) he lived in his father's great library, devouring books. From the age of seventeen he was a sickly cripple, and with alternating improvements and relapses illness tormented his short life. Black melancholy consumed him. Leopardi spent a few months (November 1822–April 1823) in Rome in the house of his uncle Carlo Antici, and wept over Tasso's tomb. This self-education in his father's library gave Leopardi a mind so classical and a style so purely Greek that his two odes in imitation of Anacreon were thought to belong to that author. The publication of Leopardi's early poems widened the breach between him and his father, a superstitious nullity of a man, who refused his son money and freedom, until in 1822 he grudgingly allowed him to go to Rome, although, in Rome, the only door to opportunity was through taking Holy Orders. This Leopardi the unbeliever could not do, so he returned to Recanati, where his melancholia was somewhat brightened by the composition of *Bruto minore* (1824) and several other lyrical masterpieces, all expressing his philosophy of despair. In 1825 the bookseller Antonio Fortunato Stella invited him to Milan, to superintend a great edition of Cicero's works. Leopardi spent three years in Milan, Bologna, Florence, and Pisa, living upon the monthly allowance from Stella and from teaching. The mildness of the Pisan winter (1827–1828) improved Leopardi's health and with spring the poet's heart blossomed with happy memories. It was a transitory relief; his melancholy grew deeper. Obligated to renounce

literary work, he lost Stella's monthly salary and accepted a monthly allowance offered him by supposedly unknown benefactors. Upon this pittance and the money received from his *Canti*, the poet lived in Florence for about two years and then formed an intimate friendship with a young Neapolitan Antonio Ranieri, who was an author of merit. In 1833, together with Ranieri's sister, they visited Naples, and there Leopardi's life dragged on. In 1837 death came not wholly unexpectedly.

In 1811 thirteen-year-old Giacomo Leopardi composed the tragedy *Pompeo in Egitto* and adapted Horace's poetica to playful *ottave*, and later wrote the *Storia dell'Astronomia* (1813) and the *Saggio sopra gli error popolari degli antichi* (1815). Giacomino asserted that verses are needed to express the torrents of feeling belonging to youth. *Idillio*, *Le Rimembranze*, in *terza rima*, and *L'Appressamento alla Morte*, his earliest poems, were afterwards rejected. Love is the subject of two elegies (1817, 1818) inspired by his cousin Gertrude Cassi, who visited the Leopardi home. *Torname a mente il di* graphically renders the poet's sorrow at the departure of Gertrude. Two *canzoni*, *All'Italia* and *Sopra il monumento di Dante che si preparava in Firenze* (1818), were as fire to ardent patriots. Between 1819 and 1821 he wrote the *Idilli*. Universal necessity for sorrow is announced in *Il Passero solitario*, *La Sera del di di festa* and dominates *Ad Angelo Mai* (1820). *Bruto minore* (1821) and the *Ultimo canto di Saffo* (1822) deny the value of virtue. In *La Quiete dopo la tempesta* (1829), *Canto notturno di un pastore errante dell'Asia* (1829-1830), and *Il Tramonto della Luna* (1835) it is a demonstration of the vanity of life. Leopardi's poems are his chief claim to immortality. They are usually in lyrical form, though there is some splendid blank verse. The first complete collection was edited by Ranieri in Florence in 1845.

Leopardi's prose works were published in Milan in 1827, under the title of *Operette morali*. They consisted of dialogues and his portrait of an imaginary philosopher *Filippo Ottonieri*. This last work it is that has given Leopardi his fame as a writer of prose. The *Storia del genere umano* is the history of man's perpetual unhappiness. *Dialogo d'Ercole a di Atlante* and *Dialogo della Natura e di un Islandese* present the miseries and sorrows of a humanity moving in a perpetual circle of production and destruction. *Parini, ovvero della gloria* insists that literary glory is as difficult to gain as it is vain when obtained. The *Frammento apocriso di Strator da Lampsaco* teaches

that man and the universe are the victims of the blind force of matter. *Operette morali* and *Pensieri* are written to prove that "both inwardly and outwardly our prose needs re-creating." The language is of exquisite purity. Leopardi's copious *Epistolario* is the history of his harassed life; the *Zibaldone* is published under the title of *Pensieri di varia filosofia e di bella letteratura*. It comprises short observations, and extracts from Italian and foreign authors. Leopardi's *canti* are the deepest voices of the nineteenth century. Virtue, liberty, love, religion, science, poetry, are found in the life within. Exterior distinctions, classes, and privileges are transitory. With craving for beauty, love, and glory, without faith or the consolations of religion, Giacomo Leopardi (1798-1837) beats and breaks his wings on the iron bars of his spiritual prison. Each bitter disillusion evokes a poem. Leopardi does not reproach God; he ignores Him. Brute Nature, *Il brutto Poter che a commun danno impera*, is the enemy. *Canto del Pastore Errante* reveals a darker despair than does even De Vigny's *Maison du Berger*. Leopardi's visions of beauty have the grace of Greek statues. Because of this truly Italian classicism, Leopardi's fame survives as the founder of the school made illustrious by Carducci.

CHAPTER XLI

Novelists and Dramatists of the Mid-Nineteenth Century

IPPOLITO NIEVO's (1831-1861) personality belongs to the romantic, the rebellious, the heroic, and the imprudent Italy of the early nineteenth century. Ringing in his verse, quivering in his romance, living in his soldier's life in the army of Garibaldi, Nievo's life, his novel, and his Italy, each explains the others. Like the hero of a legend, like the personage of a romance, he utters a cry, he wields a sword, he loves, and is loved; and then on the morrow of victory and on the eve of glory, he exists, wrapt in immortality. The blue waves of the sea conceal his agony and hide the secret of that mysterious shipwreck.

To depict this double evolution of the man and of his environment Nievo wrote *The Memoirs of a Man of Eighty*, in which each stage of the national evolution is made to explain and correspond with a crisis in the life of Carlo Altoviti. In the torrent of social progress, this atom is impelled by the flood, yet in its turn it directs and transforms the society of which it is a part. The huge, straggling Castle of Fratta enclosed by ditches, where the sheep graze and frogs croak, and the surrounding district of Friuli are parts of the Venetian state. Count Fratta, in periwig and long riding-coat, booted and spurred for the ride he never takes, presides here, attended by his brother Monsignor Orlando, a fat canon. Captain Sandracca, who commands the innocuous militia, is a little man with sly mien and mysterious ways, the secret agent of the council of Venice.

The ladies of Castle Fratta seldom appear in the kitchen. "Only the Countess makes regular descents to dictate her orders in a harsh dry voice, to deal out the stores, and to gratify Carlino with a hair pull. She takes hugely of snuff, and moves to the clinking of keys dangling by her side. The seldom-seen Dowager Countess stirs Carlo's heart to a passionate veneration, Clara is her grandmother's constant attendant. This district of Friuli witnesses the last struggle between the enfeebled cities and the feudal lords who still retain *bravi* in their pay. Unrest and misrule have created Spaccafumo the

outlaw, who tries to save an old woman from the talons of the tax-gatherer.

As Napoleon's troops approached, amidst wild shouts of "Liberty, Equality and Fraternity," the people planted a "tree of liberty" in the public piazza. The village of Fratta is plundered by the French. Within the castle, from the blackness of the Dowager's room comes a dreadful sound. That which the dying woman does not reveal is too horrible for words: there is no God! Else such things could not be. Thus dies the noble Countess Vadoera, and thus the society, whose ornament she has been, passes away. This shameful, despairing exit was the end doomed for the Venetian republic. This romance of Nievo's describes the political and social life in the Italian Venezia, during those early years of the nineteenth century. More than that it reveals personality, it is a psychological study, full of power and modernity. That double duo, Pisana and Carlo, Clara and Lucilio, chant hymns to the master passion Love. Poet's imagination, lover's emotion, hero's passion, all are presented. Nievo's personages are intact. When he is only ten days old Carlo Altoviti's mother leaves him at the gate of her brother's Castle of Fratta and offers no clue as to his birth. When Pisana is three years old and Carlo is seven they have already begun that love which proved stronger than life for her, stronger than death for Carlo.

Pisana and Carlo grow up together. Pisana encourages, then drives her suitors to despair. But tormented Carlo discovers her inborn nobility. Carlo studies law at the University of Padua. He longs for truth, for justice, for freedom of thought and conscience. He has been reading Rousseau's *Le Contrat Social* and the *Profession de Foi d'un Vicaire Savoyard*. "Virtue, Science, Liberty, filled my soul, lifted by hymns of faith and hope, whilst in a corner of my heart Pisana's memory growled wrathfully."

To save the family from ruin, Pisana marries his excellency Nava-gero, a peevish, old, and rich invalid; and Carlo accepts her husband as he has accepted her beaux; as he accepts Pisana's *cavalier servente*, a French officer. One night Pisana knocks at Carlo's door and Carlo gives himself to her, body and soul. When, years later, Pisana learns that Carlo is an exile in London, is poor, blind, and ill, she leaves her palatial home and hastens to his aid. For him this patrician-born reigning belle, whose husband owns millions, begs bread in London's streets! Doctor Lucilio removes Carlo's cata-

ract just in time for him to see her die. More than hunger, the repression of her passionate love for Carlo has sapped Pisana's strength and has purified her soul.

This story of an overwhelming human love is contrasted with a mystic love. When Clara was but a child in Castle Fratta, Lucilio, son of the village doctor, lived for her. Love reveals Lucilio's pride and Clara's humility. A burning kiss was his answer to Clara's submission. Clara escapes from his grasp, "upwards," she says. From behind a convent gate, Lucilio hears her sweet voice utter the fatal vows. There is a third story, that of Leopardo Prevedoni and his Doretta. It is a depressing picture of carnal love which ends in suicide for the man and in shame for the woman.

Nievo has described other passions besides love. Patriots, braggarts, bullies, rogues, all are comprehended, all are observed, while Nievo reproduces the pantheistic soul of the world. Those pages about the sea are worthy of De Maupassant, and everywhere brilliant gems of description are scattered. Fragonard's light and shade play about the fountain of Venchieredo, so complaisant to lovers. The sooty, cavernous, mysterious kitchen at Castle Fratta suggests an old Dutch master. Nievo's personages can talk, but sometimes passion grows declamatory and good sense preaches heavily.

Nievo is not one of the world's greatest writers, yet does he possess some of Flaubert's penetration softened by some of Tolstoi's pity, enlarged by some of Goethe's philosophy, and enlivened by much of Le Sage's good sense. Nievo is Italian, but Diderot has given him many fundamental conceptions. Listen as Carlo Altoviti speaks: "He who by disposition and by character will be always and in all things just towards himself, towards others, towards the whole humankind, that man will be the most innocent, the most useful, who has ever lived. His life will bless himself and humanity; he will leave behind a deep and honorable trace in the story of his country. This example of victorious humanity will indicate to all what Nature grants to her well-situated atoms." Because Nievo was an example of victorious humanity, a "well situated atom" that fulfilled the obligations entrusted to them, his life and his novel deserve our consideration.

EDMONDO DE AMICIS (1846-1908)

Both De Amicis and his books possess that Italian *simpatia* which silences criticism. In 1848 the Italian heart beat high. Milan's chains

were broken, Carlo Alberto's royal sword was drawn, a democratic Pope was in Rome, patriotism flamed through Italy. De Amicis investigates the lives of school teachers and writes *Fra Scuola e Casa* and *Il Romanzo d'un Maestro*. He sincerely worships both militarism and peace. In the volume *La Vita Militare*, Carmela, an insane peasant girl who mistakes for her false lover every officer who looks like him, is sent to command the little garrison. A young lieutenant falls in love with her and cures her insanity by reenacting the scene of her first lover's departure.

Cammilla is a young soldier who mutilates himself to avoid military service; no extenuating circumstance is suggested. De Amicis describes the exciting episodes of a *corrida de toros* in Spain. Gorgeous phantasies, gay pageants, and festivals are in his book *Morocco*. Toylike Dutch houses, and a dark gray sky, lowering on the somber waves of a bleak coast, are in *Olanda*. Gallant heroes of eleven have cheered the brave little drummer or the daring Lombard boy, whose stories are told in *Cuore*, the most popular of all De Amicis' writings.

In *Sull' Oceano*, the first-class passengers are described satirically, the miserable emigrants with sympathy. In the steerage of the ship *Galileo* fifteen hundred emigrants are penned together. Some are Mantuan peasants who live all winter on boiled roots; Lombard laborers in the rice-fields toil all day in water under a scorching sun, on starvation wages; Calabrian peasants feed on sprouts of trees; and in *Basilicata* the farmer shares his hovel with his pig, yet never tastes a morsel of its flesh.

PAOLO FERRARI

Paolo Ferrari, a writer of Italian comedies, was born in Modena in 1822 and died in Milan in 1889. His *Roberto Vighlius* is a play presenting life in Flanders during the sixteenth century; his *Vecchie Storie, ossia Carbonari e Sanfedisti* is a nightmare of improbabilities. In *Cause ed effetti* Ferrari considers the marriage problem. A high-born girl Duchessina Castellieri Estensi is married to Marquis Olivaria Gonzaga, and is unjustly suspected of infidelity while her profligate husband dallies with Countess Eulalia. In the fourth act the child dies on the stage, and the audience weeps copiously. Guilty Eulalia also dies, and an illogical reconciliation between repenting husband and forgiving wife concludes the story.

Ferrari's *Amore senza stima* imitates Goldoni's *Moglie Saggia*.

Ferrari's best play is *Goldoni e le sue sedici commedie nuove*. Venetian brio and vivacity adorn this reconstruction of episodes that were part of the Goldonian tradition. This play had a lasting success.

La Satira e Parini is an historical reconstruction of the Milanese set, with Parini for its central figure. *La Satira e Parini*, *Goldoni e le sue sedici commedie nuove*, and a few bright plays written in Modenese dialect and afterwards translated into Italian are occasionally performed.

GIOVANNI VERGA

Giovanni Verga of Catania (1840–1922) describes the simple Sicilian life. In fragmentary sentences, unrestrained by reticence he relates with sincerity the emotions of these Sicilian people. A pastoral type of womanhood emerges, passive, Eastern, almost biblical. There is the hieratic pose, the slow movements; she is not obedient, but she is submissive. She questions neither the moral law which enslaves her nor the traditional right of man her master. Her religion is superstition, her chastity is instinctive. She is in harmony with her environment. Her beauty blends with the surrounding sea and sky.

Under glossy masses of somber hair, a sunburnt pallid face is illumined by great dark eyes, her body reveals the elegance of a Tanager; her gesture is stately, her deep voice accords with the music of lapping waves on the shore. Her ignorance is not vulgarity. She bends to her master's will; she commits a crime of jealousy instinctively.

In *Mastro Don Gesualdo*, Diodata has granted her body, her toil, her devotion to her master Don Gesualdo. Her eyes implore caresses. Hearing he proposes to marry a noble-born Signora, she crouches at his feet, gulping down heavy tears. She accepts, when it is the master's will to possess her. She now agrees to wed a complacent lout, who will embrace the master's children and pocket the master's money. Diodata's soul makes no protest. But when sickness and age have reduced the wretched millionaire to that awful solitude of the unloved and the unloving, then Diodata returns, bringing to Don Gesualdo affection and pity.

Very effective is the death scene. "Suddenly in the night, he grew worse. The servant, who slept in the next room, heard him tossing and groaning until daybreak, but he turned in his bed, pretending not to hear. At last, worried by that continual grumbling, he went

to see what was the matter. 'My daughter,' muttered the dying man, 'Go for my daughter.' 'What ails the old fool, can't he let a fellow sleep?' Now the sick man growled louder than a double bass, his breath came with a hissing sound. Whenever the servant dropped asleep, a strange noise would startle him, a hoarse gurgling, as if someone had been panting and struggling close at hand. He got up with a muttered oath. 'Now what's the matter with him? . . . Not turned crazy all at once?' Don Gesualdo lay panting on his back. The servant lifted the lampshade, then rubbed his eyes and was about to turn in and sleep, but stopped, lamp in hand, wondering whether it was better to wait awhile or go down and wake his mistress and rouse the household. Don Gesualdo became more calm, his breath came shorter, he made several grimaces, with his eyes fixed and staring. Then he stiffened and all was over."

Other famous works of Verga are his *Cavalleria Rusticana*, which became the subject of Mascagni's opera of the same title, and two important collections of short stories and sketches of Sicilian peasants, *Medda* (1874) and *Vita dei Campi* (1880).

NEERA (ANNA RADIUS ZUCCARI, 1846-1918)

"I am nine years old and very plain; mother always scolds me." The little girl burdened with a sorrow traces these words on a window-pane. It is pale-faced, dark-eyed Anna Neera. She writes about women, especially unmarried women. "Their misery," she says, "being personal and relative is overlooked as toothache is overlooked by people possessing sound teeth." The man says to one type of woman, "You shall satisfy my flesh"; and says to the other, "You shall illumine my soul." Nature scorns such divisions.

Lydia is a kind and upright girl who is perverted by her environment, and condemned to grief. Worldly friends warn her that the Italian marrying man is not attracted by modesty but willingly surrenders to gross seduction. Society indicates marriage as the goal, and coquetry as the means. Ballroom and theatre box have no secrets for her. She savors the latest scandal, listens to things she should not know, and is an unblushing coquette. When her mother dies, she seeks a new life. When she revolts against her sexless life, no duties or affections restrain her and she becomes a social disturbance. Haunted by the ghost of advancing years and vanishing beauty, distracted by repressed desire, Lydia accepts Keptsky. Calmi comes very

near loving her, and would open Lydia's eyes to her fiancé's villainy. He takes her to a disreputable hotel where she listens to Keptsky's conversation with one of her friends. Lydia dismisses Calmi with many thanks, and kills herself with a revolver.

Teresa, eldest of many children, has slaved from childhood. Finally she loves and young Orlandi loves her, and she surrenders her fluttering heart. Teresa's father Signor Cacci refuses Orlandi's proposal of marriage, he wants his daughter's dot for his son. Teresa's sisters marry and leave the cheerless home. Suddenly Teresa learns Orlandi is poor and dying in Parma and she goes to her sweetheart.

The hero of *Senio* is a man, but Neera has also introduced a spinster. For her brother's sake, Corinna lives with strictest economy in their native country town, her only desire is to see him happy and successful. This self-denial brings its reward, but Senio ends his life miserably.

ANTONIO FOGAZZARO (1842-1911)

Antonio Fogazzaro's father was a Vicenza nobleman who loved learning, his mother was musical. Abbé Giacomo Zanella taught Antonio the classics; and at the University of Turin he studied law and also attended lectures on mathematics and natural science. *Miranda*, his first novel, is in verse and leaves much to be desired. *Malombra*, his first prose novel, reveals Fogazzaro's mental and spiritual dilemma. The philosophical and sceptical teachings at the university shook his boyish faith but he returned to the religious interpretation of life's problems. In the last chapter of *Malombra* he tells how the evening *Ave Maria* is being sung in the darkening village church.

Steinnege kneels and repeats the words that mean recovered faith, pardon, and love. In *Daniele Cortis* two hearts struggle against sinful love. Elena di San Giuliano is the wife of a villain who provides her with every extenuating circumstance. Elena knows the petty scandals around her, and "has no prejudices."

Malombra is the cry of a mind distraught. *Daniele Cortis* exults in a recovered faith. In *Piccolo Mondo Antico*, the political storm of 1848 has passed. Old Marchesa Orsola Maironi presides over her dinner party, unconscious of the tempest brooding in the hearts of Italian patriots. She and her guests love Austria; it represents power, and she and they are autocrats. Don Franco Maironi, the Marchesa's grandson and heir, enters the dining room. His grandmother praises

an Austrian functionary, and Franco breaks his plate, leaves the room, and rushes to the house of the girl he loves; they are secretly married in the church of Castello, and Franco spends his wedding night at the home of his blustering old tutor Professor Gilardoni who loves him and tells him he has discovered a lost will in which Franco's grandfather has bequeathed his fortune to him and only a pittance to the Marchesa Orsola. Franco's grandmother refuses to receive the bride and returns his letter unanswered.

But Franco's uncle Pietro offers his own house, only regretting that they will have to live in the country: "As for me, I must thank your grandmother for providing me with a family." Luisa's careful housekeeping and Franco's artistic tastes bring happiness to Zio Pietro's old country home. And yet there is a secret barrier. Luisa considers her husband a dreamer, with no capacity for real life, and Franco realizes this lack of soul communion between them. When Franco says to little Maria, "You ought not to do that because God sees you and is displeased," Luisa says, "Maria, you shall not do that because it is wrong." When little Maria is drowned in the lake, Luisa despairs but Franco submits. Then comes a change. Their love had never really died and with the hope of a second child all misunderstanding is replaced with a perfect union. The historical picture, the psychic study, surpasses any other such reconstruction in Italian fiction, except Manzoni's.

Piccolo Mondo Moderno tells of Franco's and Luisa's son Piero and his wife. Marchesa Scremin is insane, and suffering Piero falls in love with the beautiful Jeanne Dessalle, the personification of sensualism and intellectual curiosity. Piero is finally rescued by Divine intervention. After reading in the air words traced in dazzling light, after hearing whispered voices in the chapel near his wife's grave, Piero abandons his home and disappears. Don Giuseppe tells us that he has entered a cloister.

Fogazzaro demands scientific proofs for his religious belief. He is one of those storm-tossed souls who are tortured by their thirst for unquestioning faith in revealed religion. In trying to reconcile the Darwinian and Spencerian theories with the Catholic creed, Fogazzaro defines evolution as the "modus operandi of Divinity." This dualism, which informs all Fogazzaro's writings, is his interpretation of feminine characters. He is scrupulously respectful of facts, but poetically imaginative in their interpretation. He perceives that in

women there are other emotions and other desires than that for masculine admiration and love. Thus Fogazzaro traces portraits of women who, though they are no longer young, are interesting.

In *Piccolo Mondo Moderno*, the character of Marchesa Scremin reveals how maternal grief can be borne with Christian fortitude. Dowager Maironi, in *Piccolo Mondo Antico*, is a personality. Her avarice, superstition, and obduracy, her stately manners, her authority, give power to her plump colorless face. In *Daniele Cortis* all the potentialities of Elena di San Giuliano's heredity and environment are presented. Her abasement is logical. Her mother's depravity, her neglected childhood, her marriage with a degenerate, her companions' levity, and their tacit approval of the fault which she has not committed, even her husband's jealousy—all urge her into sin. Yet she renounces the love that would mean joy and honor; with breaking heart she condemns her beloved Daniele to misery, and follows her husband into a shameful exile.

For this final step, Fogazzaro provides only a metaphysical solution. In Italy no obligations of the marriage state would normally deter a woman of Elena's rank and disposition from following her heart's desire, so Fogazzaro suggests that in every human soul there is a guide to right action, conscience.

In *Piccolo Mondo Antico* noble Luisa Maironi is studied under every aspect of her development. Altruism informs her every act and thought. Always scattering affection, kindness, and good humor, full of courage and human love, she refuses to share Franco's Christian ideal of submission to wrong or to purchase happiness by surrender of her ideal of justice. Fogazzaro's thesis required that Luisa should be finally "converted," and that Franco's piety should triumph. Accordingly, the mother gazing on her dead child feels that she is partly responsible. Christian Franco is consoled by the thought that his dead child is now in heaven and is forever freed from the temptations of this wicked world. Despairing Luisa first turns to spiritism, but finally accepts Franco's theory of Christian resignation and is comforted by the same faith.

In *Il Santo*, Fogazzaro adopted the Catholic standpoint. His Jeanne Dessalle is an embodiment of Evil, tempting the "Saint" to the sin of love. When Fogazzaro wrote *Piccolo Mondo Antico*, he had not yet decided for this interpretation of the great problem. He could see that after time had healed the sorrowing heart, a woman's craving for

tenderness must revive. He believed that married love and the maternal instinct and longing to make this bond everlasting must lead Luisa to accept immortality and the joys of heaven. This emphasis on religious sentiment in the family relation was a novelty in Italy.

Elena di San Giuliano, Luisa Maironi, and Jeanne Dessalle impersonate human tenderness as opposed to the religious exaltation of the three men whom they love. Once it was the priestly Confessor who presided over social morality and intellectual activity. Then came the philosophers of the Rousseau school, now with Fogazzaro it is the novelist who settles our morals and our social economy, and saves us from the necessity of thinking. Fogazzaro is the chief Italian exponent in Italy of this theory.

CHAPTER XLII

Italian Poetry in the Second Half of the Nineteenth Century

THE volumes of Manzoni, Monti, and Giordani are covered with dust. The clangorous alarms of Parini, Alfieri, Foscolo, Monti, and Giordani sound muffled, when the tyrannies they defied no longer exist. The Greco-Latin resurrection of Italian literature was natural. The romanticism which succeeded it, with its saints, chatelains, tournaments, courts of love, and crenelated battlements, gave very little to modern Italian literature. Between 1848 and 1870, poetry and declamation found scant favor, but the memories of armed camps and of battles thrilled Italian hearts and account for the popularity of De Amicis' *La Vita militare* (1867). At the same time religious sentiment opposed the demand for a united Italy, at the expense of papal temporal power.

Giosue Carducci (1836-1907) was born at Val di Castello in Tuscany in 1836 and died in Bologna in 1907. His father practiced medicine in the Maremma of Pisa until political intrigue obliged him to go to Florence (1849) where priestly teaching made Carducci an atheist. Carducci gave lessons, wrote literary articles, and published his *Rime* (1857). In 1860 he became a professor at the University of Bologna. The Abbé Zanella (1820-1839) and Carducci were in complete opposition. While Zanella fought for the Catholic ideal of a confederated Italy under the authority of a liberal Pope, a fury of impiety caused Carducci to write *A Satana*.

The noble life and the literary product of Carducci are a glory to Italy. He is the greatest Italian poet of the nineteenth century. He was made a Senator in 1890 and received the Nobel prize for literature in 1906. His verses are limpid and serene and pagan. They record the Italian struggle for independence. The author of this History of Italian Literature gratefully acknowledges his indebtedness to Carducci's prose criticisms and his philosophic history of Italian literature.

In Carducci's *Odi Barbare* (1877) the poet is master of his form.

Of these Odes, Carducci wrote: "I tried, so far as it was possible in a lyric poem, to resume the history of pantheistic naturalism and of revolt against the oppressions of dogma and a bland submission to Greek and Roman tradition. Although I have composed them in the metrical form of their verse, they will appear barbarous to many Italians. Yet they have been constructed according to the rules of Italian prosody." Carducci realized the difficulties of adapting antique rhyme to modern thought. The second collection of *Nuove Odi Barbare* showed his emancipation from these limitations, and there is still wider divergence between the first and the third collection of Odes.

Carducci's *A Satana*, a poem of fifty stanzas, was written in a single night:

A te, de l'essere
Principio immenso,
Materia e spirito,
Ragione e senso;

Mentre ne' calici
Il vin scintilla
Si come l'anima
Ne la pupilla;

Mentre sorridono
La terra e il sole
E si ricambiano
D'amor parole.

E corre un frenito
D'imene arcano
Da' monti, e palpita
Fecondo il piano;

A te disfrenasi
Il verso ardito,
Te invoco, O Satana,
Re del convito.

Salute, O Satana,
O ribellione,
O forza vindice
De la ragione!

Ne la materia
Che mai non dorme,
Re de i fenomeni.
Re de le forme.

Sacri a te salgano
Gl' incensi e i voti!
Hai vinto il Geova
De i sacerdoti.

"To Thee, great origin of Being, Matter and Spirit, Reason and Sense, now while the wine sparkles in the cups, as the soul glows in the eyes, while the earth and the sun smile and exchange their words of love, and a trembling of secret nuptials descends from the mountains, and the earth throbs with fecundity, to Thee I unloose my bold verse, Thee I invoke, O Satan, king of the banquet. In Matter which never sleeps, King of phenomena, King of Forms. . . . Hail, Satan, Hail, Rebellion, Hail, avenging force of Reason, to Thee ascend the sacred incense and the vows! Thou hast conquered the Jehovah of the priests."

This Hymn to Satan unchained a tremendous hatred of the poet among those reactionaries who failed to understand the symbolism of his verse, and Carducci, disdaining explanations, accepted the battle. The poem entitled *Nevicata* (The Snowfall) is in Carducci's later mood:

NEVICATA

Lenta fiocca la neve pe'l cielo cinereo; i gridi
Suoni di vita piu non salgon da la citta,

Non d'erbaiola il grido o corrente rumore di carro,
Non d'amor la canzon ilare e di gioventu

Da la torre di piazza roche per l'aere le ore
Gemon, come sospir d'un mondo lungi dal di.

Picchiano uccelli reminghi a'vetri appannati: gli amici
Spiriti reduci son, guardano e chiamano a me.

In breve, o cari, in breve, tu calmati, indomito cuore,
Giu al silenzio verro, ne l'ombra riposero.

"Softly the snowflakes rain down from the leaden skies; no clamors, no sounds of life rise from the city, no cries of street merchants, no rumbling of carts, nor young and joyous songs of love. From the clock tower in the square the hours sound noisily in the quiet air of the evening, the sighs of a world shut in from the day. Small lost birds peck at the closed window: they are friendly spirits who return, they seek for me, they call me. Yes, very soon, dear ones (be calm, thou, be brave of heart!), I will soon descend into the silence. I will repose in the shadows."

A study of Italian poetry reveals that the prejudices which isolate Bologna from Naples or Catania are deeper than the waters which separate Sicily from the mainland. The poet of the North is opposed by Mario Rapisardi the Sicilian, champion of the Midi. Rapisardi was born at Catania in 1844. In his poem *Palingenesi* (1868) he asks whether the abandonment of Christianity and a return to paganism would not bring peace and prosperity. In Rapisardi's *Lucifer* (1877) twenty long cantos are required to develop the subject, and when we are at the end of this river-of-words, there is no real conclusion.

Prometheus is languishing on his Caucasian rock, so Lucifer goes to inquire as to his projects and then begins a round-the-world voyage. He throws God out of Heaven and then makes love to Hebe and other females. The fifth song tells how Lucifer passes the night by the side of the divine Hebe:

Sparuta e scema
Pende la luna, e sopra a la gentile
Bionda testa di lei sorride e trema,
Pensoso e gli e pio dell' usato stile;
E in lei mestizia, oltre ogni dir, suprema:
Che nuotando le vanno incerte e scure
Cento memorie in cor, cento paure.

Sovra i ginocchi ci se l'adagia, e cuna
Del sen le fa con le protese braccia;
E ad ogni aura ei la bacia, e per ognuna
De le stelle del cielo essa l'abbraccia.
Velo la fronte ipocrita la luna,
Che tanta volutta par che le spiaccia,
Come vecchia pinzochera far suole
Al caro suon di lubriche parole.

Disse alfin la fanciulla; O, se sapessi
Che paure ho nel core! Ai giorni miei
Richezza altra io non ho che i nostri amplessi,
E amore e vita ed avvenir mi sei.
Se un giorno abbandonar tu mi dovessi,
Come rondin deserta io morirei,
Io morirei così! Tacque, e gli avvolse
Le braccia al collo, e il freno al pianto sciolse.

* * *

. . . Dall' opaca

Terra sorgano, come fiamme vivi
Le vittime dei Numi, e tutti a un grido
La giustizia chiedean. Pende dal labbro
Di Lucifero il fato; a lui dintorno
Stanno i secoli. Al Dio che si trasforma,
Tranquillamente egli favellò;

* * *

Con te, non pur la forma e il nome,
Ma il pensiero di Dio nell' nom s'estingue!

* * *

Tale al raggio del Ver struggeasi il vano
 Fantasima; e in vapore indi converso,
 Tremolando si sciolse, e all'aria sparve.

Così moria l'Eterno. Ai consueti
 Balli movean gli antichi astri; dal cielo
 Luminose partian, come in trionfo
 Le magne ombre dei sofi, e a tutti innanzi
 Lucifero. Arrivo col di novello
 Sal Caucasio nevato, ove al soffrente
 D'adamantino cor figlio di Temmi;
 Levati, disse, il gran tiranno e spentol

"Wan and thin the moon hangs above the head of blonde and charming Hebe, who smiles and trembles with overpowering sadness, for a hundred memories and a hundred fears uncertain and obscure surge in her heart. Lucifer is more pensive than usual, crouching on his knees he makes a cradle of his breast, his arms extended; with each murmur of the breeze and for each one of the stars in heaven she embraces him. That hypocrite, the moon, hides her face, for such languishing displeases her, like an old maid who pretends to be shocked at the sound of sensual words. Then the young girl said: 'Oh, if you could only know the fear in my heart! Every moment of the day I have no other happiness except our embracings. You are my life and my future; if you should abandon me, like a solitary swallow I would die, so I would die.' She ceased to speak and with her arms around the neck of her lover dissolved in tears." And so, on and on, the story goes.

Lucifer finally achieves the destruction of all the Gods. "From the somber earth, like living flames, their victims rise and demand justice. The decision rests with Lucifer. To the transformed God he speaks: 'Thou art the last God, with thee the form, the name, even the very idea of God will be blotted out from the minds of men. . . .' So the vain phantom dissolves into trembling mist and is lost in the air. So died the Eternal. The ancient stars continue their accustomed dances; from the heavens came down in triumph the great shades of the departed, and before all marched Lucifer. With the dawning day he arrives on snowy Caucasus where, to Prometheus, to the hero with the diamond heart, he said, 'Arise, the Great Tyrant is no more.' "

In the violent literary polemic which ensued Rapisardi bitterly

attacked Carducci, who replied: "Rapisardi's Lucifer is a babbling old rag-picker, full of cantharides, his blonde Hebe is an old arcadian shepherdess repainted and Frenchified by Parny. Pouah!" Carducci rises above the personal quarrel and thus defines the literary controversy. "There is no Bologna School; at Bologna there are students and there are poets, who come together in pleasant reunions. Some of these write and some read poetry and there are several who are more talked about and who publish more often than their brothers, but they all live in the uttermost friendship, and each one goes his own way. As for me, I have always insisted on the right to act, to think, to write, to fight in my own way within the limits which I believe are just. Why Bologna? Why Sicily? We are all Italians. I have nothing against Sicily or against its literature even though I may have something against Mr. Rapisardi."

In 1870 after Germany's conquest of France, many Germanized Italians placed scholastic erudition above inspiration. Giovanni Marradi united with other students in fighting against this heresy. These young men had very modern ideas and were the first champions of "naturalism" and of "realism" in Tuscany, and formed a literary group which had its oratorical contests, its literary journal, and its café, and attacked the Germanized Italians who scorned Italy and Italian poetry. Marradi wrote that "the *Goliardi* were a small group of young Florentines who in 1876-1877 loved art and cultivated letters and joyous companionship."

Marradi's *Lucrezia Borgia* is one of the most perfect of the many little poems produced by this group.

LUCREZIA BORGIA

Per la via di Spoleto, erta e fiammante
Nel sol d'agosto, lenta cavalcava
Donna Lucrezia, fra un corteo raggianti
Di preti e gentiluomini. La flava
Bellezza della sua chioma abbondante
Il lume de' socchiusi occhi le ombrava,
Mentre in cadenza, al passo, il palafreno
Secondava la molle onda del seno.

Avea ne' semichiusi occhi l'ebrezza
D'una innocente vision d'amore
Quasi sognasse l'ultima carezza
Del Duca Alfonso, bello come un fiore;

Aragonese fior di giovinezza
 Nelle case dei Borgia, a cui sul core
 Pendea del Valentino ora il pugnale,
 A troncar quell' idillio nuziale.

Ed ecco ed ecco, ad inchinar la bionda
 Governatrice, da lungi s'avanza
 La spoletana Signoria, fra un' onda
 D'alabardieri in lucida ordinanza;
 Mentre una folla che di sitibonda
 Impazienza palpita, in distanza
 Spia quella vaga testa giovinetta
 Che d'un quarto marito i baci aspetta.

E sosta il lungo seguito regale,
 Mentre al popol che urge e che fa ressa
 L'araldo annunzia:—La pontificale
 Clemenza d'Alessandro v'ha concessa,
 A mantener su la citta ducale
 I dritti della Chiesa, la Duchessa
 Lucrezia Borgia, con sacro decreto
 Reggente di Foligno e di Spoleto.

"On the way to Spoleto steep and hot under the August sun, Donna Lucrezia rode slowly with her cortège of priests and gentlemen; the wild beauty of her abundant locks shadowed the flames of half-open eyes, while the undulations of her soft bosom followed the cadence of her palfrey. In the half-closed eyes of Lucrezia showed the innocent emotion of a vision of love; she dreamed of the last caresses of Duke Alfonso, beautiful as a flower, a flower of the youth of Aragon transplanted into the house of Borgia. Alfonso, who in the intimacy of their marriage had been pierced to the heart by the dagger of Valentino. And here in the distance appear the *Signoria* of Spoleto to salute their blonde Regent. Between two ranks of *alabardieri*, in brilliant uniform they advance, while the excited crowd are held at a distance, eager to behold the blonde young head who is awaiting the kisses of her fourth husband. And the royal procession halts while the people press and dispute. The herald announces, 'In order to maintain the rights of the Church over the Ducal city, the pontifical clemency of Alexander VI has granted to you the Duchess Lucrezia Borgia by solemn decree to be Regent of Foligno and of Spoleto.' "

THE SICILIAN SCHOOL

In Sicily where the Ionian and Tyrrhenian seas mingle, where the sunlit fields are golden and Indian fig trees flourish under the shadow

of great mountains, where enchanted gulfs meet terraced banks and orange groves, and immense Mount Etna smokes on the horizon, here in the warm bosom of Sicily dwell poets of facile loves. The sight of a beautiful girl inspires verses.

Pirandello's collection *Pasqua di Gea* (1891) contains the poem *La Vecchierella*, so tender, so smiling, so tearful:

LA VECCHIERELLA

La vecchierella bianca
Raccolta su' l murello
De la rural dimora
Non sazia gia, ma stanca.

Di viere cosi
Guarda, ed ai tanti fiore
Onde il gran piano odora,
Ai teneri uccelletti,
Che dagli alberi intorno
E dai vicini tetti.

—Ricordi quelle sere
D'aprile, e i dolci accordi
A lume de la luna,
I balli, il primo amore,
Allora che nel cuore
Dapprima ti fiorì?
E la vecchietta:—Sì!

Le fanno un bel cantare,
Movendo la canuta
Tremula testa pare
Che dica ognor di sì.

—Ricordi tu, ricordi
De le tue primavere
I bei lentani di?
E la vecchietta:—Sì!

—Ricordi il lieto giorno
In cui la tua figliuola
Bella come una rosa
Fattasi grande e sposa
Col genero partì?
E la vecchietta:—Sì!

—Ricordi le preghiere
Presso la prima cuna
Che la nonna imbastì?
E la vecchietta:—Sì!

Ricordi i tanti morti,
Il vecchio tuo, le care
Amiche de' begli anni?
Oh come sola sei . . .
Vuoi tu morir col di?
E la vecchietta:—Sì!

Fogazzaro as a novelist has already been considered. He is also a true poet. Behind the starry night, the trees, the miracles of nature, Fogazzaro feels a First Cause, but he is not a pantheist; he still loves the sonority of the church bells as they pray. Here is his poem *A Sera*:

LE CAMPANE DI ORIA

Ad occidente il ciel si discolora,
Vien l'ora—de le tenebre.
Da gli spiriti mali,
Signor, guarda i mortali!
Oriamo.

LE CAMPANE DI OSTENO

Pur noi su l'onde
Moviam da queste solitarie sponde
Voci profonde.
Dagli spiriti mali,
Signor guarda i mortali!
Oriamo.

LA CAMPANE DI FURIA

Pur noi remote, ed alte
Fra le buie montagne
Odi Signore.
Da gli spiriti mali
Guarda i mortali!
Oriamo.

ECHI DELLE VALLI

Oriamo.

TUTTE LE CAMPANE

Il lume nasce e muore;
(le aurore?)
Che riman dei tramonti e de
Tutto, Signore,
Tranne l'Eterno, al mondo
Evano.

ECHI DELLE VALLI

Evano.

TUTTE LE CAMPANE

Oriamo, oriamo in pianto
Da l'alto e dal profondo
Pei morti e pei viventi,
Pertanta colpa occulta e dolor tanto
Pieta signore!
Tutto il dolore
Che non ti prega,
Tutto l'errore
Che ti diniega,
Tutto l'amore
Che a te non piega,
Perdona, O Santo.

ECHI DELLE VALLI

O Santo.

TUTTE LE CAMPANE

Oriam per i dormienti
Del cimitero
Che dicon rei, che dicono innocenti
E tu, Mistero,
Solo tu sai.

TUTTE LE CAMPANE

Oriam per il profondo
Soffrir del mondo
Che tutte vive e sente
Ama, dolora,
Giudizio arcano de l'Omnipotente,
Sia pace al monte al' onda.
Al bronzo ancora
Sia Pace.

ECHI DELLE VALLI

Pace.

POETRY IN DIALECT

In Italy the facility for rhyme has urged dialect writers to compose a strictly local poetry. Raphael Barbiera declared, "The Venetians are expansive and brilliant, the Lombards are tearful, the Piedmontese are liberty-loving, the Neapolitans sing of love, the Sicilians are restless, the Tuscans and the Romans vaunt the majestic traditions of their Roman ancestors." These dialect poems fail of their charm in translation. Love themes and the mystery of the city and of the lagoons inspire Venetian dialect poems. Thus Salvatico sings of his beloved Venice:

VENEZIA

Non gl' e a sto mondo na cita piu bela
Venezia mia de ti, per far l'amor.
No ghe dona ne tosa ne putela
Che resista al incanto traditor.

Co un fia di luna e un fia de bavesela
Ti sa sfantar i scrupoli del cuor,
Devento ogni morosa in ti one stela
E par che i basi gabia piu saor.

Venezia mia, ti se la gran rufania
Che ti ga tuto pe far pecai;
El mar, le cale sconte, i rii, l'altana.

La Piazza e i vo colombi inamorai,
La gondola che fa la nina nana
Fin i mussati che ve tien svegiai.

"In all the world there is no city so beautiful and so ideal for making love as my Venice. No young girl or woman can resist your traitorous charms. With a bit of a moon and almost nothing of a breeze you can dissolve the scruples of conscience. In you every lover becomes a star; and here kisses taste sweeter. My Venice, you are a great procuress. You have everything arranged for sinning; the sea, the hidden little streets, the lagoons and the terraces, the Piazza with its pigeons in love, the gondola which makes the *nina nana*, and even the mosquitoes that keep you awake."

When gazing into the eyes of his sweetheart the poet is reminded of his first emotion, of the tremblings of those early days, the love which will never come again, notwithstanding the present joys of possession.

PRIMA E DOPO

Quel che el prete m'avra leto
Mi dusseno no lo so;
So che andavimo a bracet
Poco dopo tutti e do.

So che prima poverazzo
De no sempre ghe diseva
No l'podeva urtarne un braccio
Che de fogo me faseva.

So che adesso se qual cossa
Povertò el vol da mi
Cio! divento ancora rossa
Ma ghe digo sempre sì.

"What the priest read to us truly I do not remember. I know that after the ceremony we were in each other's arms, I know that before I always said 'No,' and that if he even touched my arm it was like fire. I know that now if he wishes anything from me I still blush, but always answer 'Yes.' "

Greco-Latins, Normans, barbarians, the Oriental inheritance of Saracen pirates, of slave merchants, of the flotsam of a people without a country combine to form the Neapolitan character. Languorous climate, the ease of living under kindly sky, the hot sun, inspire violent passion. The Neapolitan stole because he was hungry, that knife thrust was given one who betrayed him. He stabbed his sweet-heart as a proof of love. Salvatore de Giacomo's sonnets and songs are inspired by the *lazzaroneries* of his fellow Neapolitans. *O Funneco* described a corner of Naples.

O FUNNECO

Chist's o Funneco Verde abbascio Puerto
Addo se dice ca vonno allarga
E allargassero, si, nun hanno tuorto,
Ca ca nun se po manco risciaa.

Dint a stu vico ntruppecuso e stuorto
Manoo lu sole se ce po mpezza,
E addimannate: uno sulo d e muorto
Pe lu culera de sette anne fa!

Ma sta disgrazia—si, pe nu mumento,
Vuie ce trasite—nun ve pare ocera;
So muorte vinte? Ne so' nate ciento.

E sta gente nzevata e strellazzera
Cresco sempe, e mo' so mille e trecento,
Che vico e vico! E na scarrafunera.

"Here is the *Funneco Verde* of the lower Port, there where they say they are going to enlarge the street. That is a good idea, so there will be a chance to breathe. In that little street so filled with trash even the sun cannot enter. And you ask me did the cholera kill anyone here, seven years ago? If there were dead they have left no trace of the disaster. Were there twenty dead? Hundreds have been born

since. And these vermin are always multiplying. Now there are three hundred, it is no longer a street, it is a sewer."

"A San Francisco" is the Naples prison. *A San Francisco* is the title of Salvatore di Giacomo's little book of sonnets, which vividly picture the streets of Naples. A *Camorrista* discovers that his mistress has betrayed him, he kills her and is sent to the San Francisco prison. Here he finds "the other one," an old comrade, who tells him the rules and the customs of the prison. His old friend asks him, "And why are you here?" "Because of blood," replies the deceived lover. At the end of the story he kills his rival, which is quite according to the Neapolitan custom.

Edmondo de Amicis thus praises Renato Fucini's sonnets: "In these hundred sonnets the poet unrolls before the reader the daily Tuscan life, better than it has ever been done before. The people are represented with all their ingenuities, their suspicions, their cunning. With wonderful ability Fucini has succeeded in seizing the most transient shadows of his characters. In superb poetry he has set down the very thoughts of the people in language that vibrates. There are no unnecessary words, no rhetoric, no repetition in these sonnets."

Lorenzo Stecchetti's real name is Olindo Guerrini. Born at Forlì in 1845, he studied at the University of Bologna and afterwards became the university librarian. Surrounded as he was by his books, it was to be expected that he would write articles of literary criticism, or learned biographies. Since Guerrini could not publish under his own name the kind of poems he wished to write, he decided that he would create an imaginary personage Lorenzo Stecchetti, through whose pretended writings he could present his real thoughts. In 1877 he brought out a little volume of verse *Postuma*, which he attributed to a certain Lorenzo Stecchetti, making himself the editor. Guerrini relates how this young man had been the companion of his youth. He describes the progress of his consumption which ended in his death. Guerrini took down the last words of his beloved friend and published them after his death. These verses of the dead poet excited great enthusiasm in Italy, and many a pilgrimage was made in search of the little village and the tomb of the dead poet. They were never found, for both poet and tomb were the invention of Olindo Guerrini.

PREGHIERA DELLA SERA

Libera nos a male
De miei semplici padri antice Iddio,
Se vana ombra non sei,
Dio di mia madre in cui, fanciullo, anch'ie
Innocente credei:

Se pur tu scruti col pensiero augusto
De' nostri cori il fondo,
Se menzogna non e che tu sia giusto
Con chi fu giusto al mondo.

Guarda; dell' agonia patir gli orriri
Ogni giorno mi tocca;
Guarda l'anima mia de che dolori
E di che fiel trabocca!

Abbrevia tu se puoi le maledette
Ore del mio soffrire,
Avventami, mio Dio, le tue sactte;
Mio Dio, fammi morire.

"From my simple-minded fathers, O old-fashioned God, if you are not merely a vain shadow, God of my mother, in whom as an innocent child I also believed: if you really know the deepest thoughts of our hearts, if it is not a lie to believe that you are just in this world, where there is no justice, listen: Each day I am obliged to suffer the most horrible agonies. Regard with what grief, and with what gall of bitterness, my soul overflows. Shorten if you can the cursed hours of my sufferings. My God, pierce me with your arrows. My God, make me die."

Giuseppe Giacosa (1847-1906) has published plays in verse and in prose, and we have considered them. *Storie Vecchie*, the prologue of *Una Partita a Scacchi*, is splendid poetry. We hear the clarion trumpets of a marching warrior band. Middle-Age legends, chivalry, and dramatic adventure all live again.

STORIE VECCHIE

Le muri dei castelli son corrose ed infrante,
E suvvi ci si abbarbica l'edera serpeggiante,
Son mozzate le torri, i merli son caduti,
Le sale spaziose i bei freschi han perduti,
I cammini giganti dall'ali protettrici

Son colmi di macerie, stridon sulle cornici
 I piu grotteschi uccelli: ma sereni sicuri,
 Piu forti che le torri e piu saldi che i muri,
 Quegli uomini di ferro d'ogni mollezza schivo
 Si parano alla mente baldi, parlanti e vivi,
 Son la, coll' armi al fianco, col girifalco in mano.
 Ieri: leon di guerra, ed oggi: castellano.
 Ignoranti di patria, di liberta; capaci
 Di morir per un nome o il piu puro dei baci:
 Con tre motti stampati nel cuore e nella mente:
 Il Re, la Dama, Iddio; e su questi, lucente
 Come un sole a meriggio, una grande chimera,
 Legge informe, malcerta, prepotente, severa,
 Assoluta giustizia o generoso errore,
 Inflessibile al pari del cristallo: L'onore.
 Allora tu, dell' arme infra i disagi gravi
 Santa della famiglia religion splendevi.

"The walls of the castles are bitten and cracked, ivy climbs over the battlements, the towers are cut off, the balustrades fall away, the great halls have lost their beautiful frescoes. The immense chimneys with protecting wings are filled with plaster; hideous birds squawk upon the cornices of the roof. But sure, serene, stronger than the towers, more solid than the walls, free from softness, those men of iron dwell in the memory, strong and vital. They are the sword at the side, falcon on the wrist; yesterday, lions of battle, today, lords of the manor. Indifferent to nationality and to liberty, but ready to die for a name or for the most tender of kisses; three mottoes are graven on their hearts: their King, their Lady, their God. And over these, like the sun at midday, irradiates a great chimera, Honor."

The Father, the Ancestor, the Seigneur, with trembling hands bestows his blessing on his son. The old man knows, as his eyes close in death, that beside his tomb will be placed the tomb of his son, and he seems to say with his last smile, "No sighs of regret, no tears, one day we will see one another."

"O stories of battles, of love, of chivalry! O Gothic lecterns, O storied glass! O scarfs broidered in the agony of waiting! O melancholy convent walls! O cells of pilgrims, of saints and of poets! You are always the bright torches of art and of dreams, you who live again only in our regrets."

In his later years Giacosa realized that the emotions of modern men and women refused the limitations of rhymed poetry.

EDMONDO DE AMICIS

When Edmondo de Amicis wrote poetry, he was true to his own personality and composed according to his own inspiration. How tender these verses to his mother:

A MIA MADRE

Non sempre il tempo la belta cancella,
O la sfioran le lagrime e gli affanni.
Mia madre a sessant' anni
E piu la guardo e piu mi sembra bella.

Non had un' accento, un guardo un riso un atto,
Che non mi tocchi dolcemente il cuore
O se io fossi pittore!
Farei tutta la vita il suo ritratto.

Vorrei ritrarla quando, inchina il viso,
Perch' io le baci la sua treccia bianca,
Quando inferma e stanca
Nasconde il suo dolore sotto un sorriso.

Pur se fosse un mio priego in cielo accolto,
Non chiederei di Raffael da Urbino,
Il pennello divino
Per coronar di gloria il suo bel volto.

"Time shall never efface thy beauty nor will tears of suffering disfigure. My mother is sixty years old, and the more I regard her the more beautiful she seems. Her word, her look, her smile, her gesture, cause my heart to beat gently. If I were a painter I would give my whole life to tracing her portrait! I would paint her as she bends her head that I may kiss her white hair, and when weary and sad she hides her sufferings with a smile. And yet if my desire could be granted by Heaven, I would not ask for the brush of the divine Raphael to crown with glory her beautiful face, I would ask for the power to exchange my life for hers, to give her all the vigor of my youth, and to see myself grow old as I saw her made young again through my sacrifice."

Countess Lara's poetry expresses the passionate sincerity of Italian women. Her father was English, her mother was Russian, she was born on the French Riviera and was a student at the convent of the *Sacré-Cœur* at Paris. May a woman avow her love passion? The

Countess Lara demanded freedom to live her own life. She separated from her husband after he had killed her first lover in a duel, then a man died for her, and finally she was killed by the pistol of a lover, to whom she refused to give money. She mourned for the maternity she had never known, and hated the thought of growing old in an empty home, and she wrote:

IO MORRO SOLA

O povere mie carte, e resterete
Con secchi fiori e ciocche di capelli,
Rinchiuse entro uno stipo, in fra segrete
Ricordanze de' miei giorni piu belli!

Non e per voi di gloria avida sete
Il duol fa che in pianto io vi favelli,
Io che sol chiedo a l'arte intime e liete
Larve onde il very per poco si cancelli,

Ma egli e il desio d'una manuccia bianca
Che vi scompigli un di, ne la parola
Cercando questa offesa anima stanca:

La man che chiude gli occhi e che consola
Quando la vita ne la madre manca.
Voi, carte, ingiallirete, io morro sola.

"Oh, my poor little copybooks, you are shut in a drawer with the dried flowers and locks of hair, and the most secret memories of my happy days . . . my greatest regret is for the little white hand which will never turn these pages in the search for my sad and wearied soul. For those little hands that would close the eyes of the dying mother, you pages of poems, you will grow old and I shall die alone."

CHAPTER XLIII

D'Annunzio (1863-1938)

ON March 1, 1938, D'Annunzio died in the Vittoriale, his villa on Lake Garda, in which he had attempted to combine a love nest, a monastery, and a museum. There he had lived in seclusion since the disastrous close of his Fiume venture on Christmas Day 1920. His was the tragic death of a disillusioned old man, for always he had been enamored of youth. Had he not written, "Fate has named me Prince of Youth until the end of my life"? Always he had regarded old age with horror, and he watched the decline of his physical powers which prevented the gratification of desire, as if it were some terrible beast. In 1936 he wrote Mussolini . . . "Why do you not commission me to attempt the last adventure? Let me die!"

A man of letters, lover, bankrupt, orator, aviator, military adventurer, mystic, and aesthete, Gabriele d'Annunzio has been described as a modern Cyrano de Bergerac; but it would be hard to imagine Cyrano in this addict of luxury, this perfect dandy, redolent with perfume, who wrote of himself: "I was ill with the disease called 'women.' Had I been received in a monastic order, I must have confessed that my soul lay under the yoke of concupiscence." And again: "Nowadays the laurel serves but to entice the myrtle. The veritable royalties of an author are his love affairs."

D'Annunzio published more than fifty works—plays, poems, and novels; and at least half of these will average between three hundred and four hundred pages each. His first volume of verse called *Primavera* (Spring) was published in 1879 at Florence, when he was sixteen. *Canto Nuovo* was followed by *L'Intermezzo di Rime*. Joining the staff of the *Tribuna* he did some of his best early work for this paper under the pseudonym of *Duca Minimo*. To this period belongs the love poem *Il Libro d'Isotta*, the novels *Il Piacere*, *L'Innocente* and *Giovanni Episcopo*. His novel *Il Fuoco* was published in 1900.

Il Poema Paradisiaco, written in 1893, the *Odi Navali* of the same year, and *Laudi* (1900) are among his finest works. In 1895 he wrote *La Citta Morta* for Sarah Bernhardt and *La Gioconda* for Eleonora

Duse. His *Francesca da Rimini* (1907) was played by Mme. Duse throughout Europe and the United States. In *Le Martyre de Saint-Sébastien*, D'Annunzio created a French masterpiece showing amazing linguistic virtuosity for a foreigner. Of this work he wrote, "The whole of the mystical Christian world and of the pagan one are represented in their entirety in the second act." The poet's last book was published in July 1935, with the bizarre title, "A Hundred and a Hundred and a Hundred and a Hundred Pages, from the Secret Book of Gabriele d'Annunzio Tempted to Die." His plays, novels, and poems brought him enormous royalties, but his creditors assailed him in the courts and in 1912 he departed for Paris, saying that henceforth he would write for the French, who understood an artist's genius better than did the Italians.

D'Annunzio fought in the World War from the 7th of August 1915 and continued his military activities in Fiume until Christmas 1920. He repeatedly risked his life in battle and was blinded in one eye during an airplane flight. He received from the King the highest Italian war decoration: the gold medal for bravery in the field.

Believing that President Wilson had insisted that the League of Nations should administer the docks and railways of the city of Fiume on the Adriatic, D'Annunzio with a few hundred young Italian soldiers occupied the city on September 11 and 12, 1919, and proclaimed its annexation to Italy by the "inflexible will of the people."

For fifteen months he governed Fiume and defied the Allied powers; and when Italy and Yugoslavia signed the Treaty of Rapallo on November 12, 1920, establishing Fiume as an independent sovereign State, D'Annunzio refused to accept this treaty, and on December 1 he declared war on Italy. The Italian troops quickly invested Fiume. After five days of unequal combat he was informed that the city would be bombarded and destroyed. Then he surrendered and retired to his villa at Gardone on the Lake of Garda.

In 1924 the King conferred upon him the title of "Prince of Monte Nevoso" (Prince of the Snowy Mountain). The title is hereditary and will descend to the poet's eldest son Mario d'Annunzio. His two other sons are Hugo and Gabriellenne. In his estate Vittoriale, he lived surrounded by a retinue of secretaries, servants, and artisans. D'Annunzio posed as a profound mystic; his cell was marked with the words *Clausura* and *Silentium*, as in a monastery.

Through much of his lifetime the poet was world-famous for his almost hypnotic influence over women. Signorina Baccara, who was with him at his death, abandoned her career as an eminent pianist to devote herself to him. Thousands of the poet's love letters, written to more than a hundred different women, were given by him to Tom Antongini, his secretary and business agent, who has recently published his biography. The women who wrote to him were usually intrigued by the perversity of this incomparable expounder of complicated adultery. Apart from letters, the poet attached infinite importance to flowers. All of his homes were admirably adapted to love-making. As he himself said, "I cannot live in mediocre surroundings." From his earliest youth he was an impassioned lover of music.

Much ink has flowed, thousands of pages have been printed in many languages about this great representative of modern Italian literature. D'Annunzio always dramatized his personality. To the very end of his life, before an enormous audience, he trod a grandiose stage, while the world watched and applauded. Physically not attractive, extremely nearsighted, slight of stature and low-voiced, he was a remarkable conversationalist; he had much to say, and he said it well. With perfect diction, his every word received the full harmony of its sound, as it dripped in balanced accents from his lips. With equal felicity he played the gamut of emotions; he was impressive or affecting, simple or strenuous, according to his mood and opportunity. D'Annunzio had a superlative histrionic aptitude.

In his splendid hermitage on the Gardone, D'Annunzio's last rôle was carried out in Franciscan garb, in a windowless and doorless cell which was under the protection of St. Francis, and the motto *Silentium* was marked over the doorway. While D'Annunzio had always shown himself respectful to the external forms of worship and religion and was friendly with the clergy, yet he was in fact perfectly indifferent to religion.

The mystic gleams which sometimes appear in his writings spring from sources exclusively artistic. D'Annunzio was never a believer. His cult for St. Francis of Assisi was an artistic emotion. He wore in the house a dressing gown which recalled the Franciscan habit, but his soul was always pagan. He wrote in 1886, a few days after Christmas:

"The mornings of the days preceding Christmas are eminently erotic; you can awaken in the woman you love grave and tender feel-

ings, you can appeal to that sentimentality which in those Christian days fills all feminine souls."

D'Annunzio's tragedies filled with violent emotions are laid in ancient decadent times, when the crust of civilization was thin. In such a *fata morgana* his people are dominated by lust, ambition, or cruelty. D'Annunzio's characters have already experienced the first and most interesting phase of the everlasting combat between good and evil. They are at the end of their *passio*; they have surrendered to the fiend that drives them to a tragic and inevitable end. This simplification of psychoanalysis accounts for the sensualism of D'Annunzio's plays. Primitive emotion requires no delicate investigation and explains, and is explained by, anything that is strange, weird. It reveals in quivering heat, in illusions, and extenuates improbable plots. It hides D'Annunzio's lack of real emotion.

D'Annunzio's play *Gioconda* contains a man and two women. Lucio Settala, the sculptor, worships beauty and himself. In the first act his sweet devoted wife Silvia Settala is shown as a paragon of virtue. Gioconda Dianti, Settala's model, impersonates Art and Sex; Silvia represents Duty. Lucio, torn between duty and desire, attempts suicide. The curtain drops on a pretty love scene between the repentant husband and the forgiving wife.

In the second act, Lucio tells Dalbo how he admires his wife, but . . . life with her is death to an artist; while Gioconda is inspiration! "She is always varied, like a cloud that changes from instant to instant. Every motion of her body destroys one harmony, creates another even more beautiful." While Lucio is ill, Gioconda returns every day to his studio to wet the cloths that cover the molded clay; thus preserving the unfinished work of the sculptor.

The third act, *le clou* of the play, is in the studio, where behind a heavy hanging is the statue. Here Silvia Settala awaits her rival. The duel between the women begins; Silvia challenges Gioconda: "One of us usurps the right of the other. Which? I, perhaps?" "Perhaps," echoes Gioconda. Silvia blames Gioconda for Lucio's attempted suicide. Gioconda retorts that in death he sought deliverance from an unbearable yoke. "He does not love you. He told me how unbearable was his slavery. You nursed him, but I watched over his unfinished work." Goaded by the taunts of her rival, wounded in her love, Silvia shrieks out a lie: Lucio has sent her; Lucio wants the latchkey back; Lucio does not want to see Gioconda any more. Gioconda is furious.

"Tell him I take with me all that was his, power, joy, life . . . and that statue which is me, I will shatter to pieces." Silvia cries out that she has lied. A crash, a shriek, Silvia's sister rushes in and drags Silvia from behind the hanging. Her hands have been crushed by the fall of the statue. "It is safe," she cries, and faints.

D'Annunzio's play *Francesca da Rimini* entirely transforms the personages of Dante's vision. What surpassing suavity in Dante's lines describing deathless love! "Like doves on the wings of desire" they come, chastised by sinful love. Francesca in hell is still the "grande dame," the gentle "signora," who thanks Dante for his pity. She does not extenuate, she exalts the power of love, "*che non perdona*," even in this kingdom of punishment. Paolo is hers, and love is immortal.

How different is D'Annunzio's warlike Francesca: "There never was a sword that went so straight as her eyes go if they but look at you." She fights on the battlements; she is filled with sensual desire. Unlike Dante's Francesca, unlike Guinicelli's ideal, *Amor e cuor gentil sono una cosa*, she has none of the womanly delicacy and deathless love of the accepted legends. D'Annunzio's Francesca is surrounded by luxury mixed with the violence and cruelty that informs the whole play. Vile is the trick whereby Francesca is led to marry Gianciotto Malatesta, while believing her husband is to be Paolo, the fair and gallant brother. She wakes and discovers by her side the uncouth and brutal face of the lame Gianciotto, where she expected to find Paolo. Within an exact reproduction of an Italian battlemented tower of that period are cruelty and violence. Francesca brandishes the deadly weapons, plays with Greek fire, and exults in its burning.

Swift through the night, swift through the starless night
Fall in the camp, and seize the armed men,
Enswathe his sounding armor, glide between
Strong scale and scale, burn down
The life of veins, and break
The bones asunder, suck his marrow out,
Stifle him, rend him, but before
The final darkness falls upon his eyes,
Let all the soul within him without hope
Shriek in the splendor that is slaying him.

Paolo does not entreat pardon, but offers Francesca his life in atonement. "How will you like me to die?" "Like the galley slave,

rowing in that galley which is called despair." Paolo stands un-helmeted on the battlement under the shower of deadly missiles. Francesca calls him back, and prays. Gianciotto comes in, drinks with his wife and brother the cup of aromatic wine, with the wish:

May God make you fruitful to me
That you may give me many
And many a lion's cub.

D'Annunzio has used the familiar pseudo-classic setting of somber forests, and elfin wilds, which adds another note to the growing terror. Francesca relates her vision to her confidant, a Saracen slave Smaragdi:

I see it as it were in very truth
A naked woman through the depths of the wood,
Disheveled, torn by branches and by thorns,
Weeping and crying for mercy,
Runs, followed by two mastiffs at her heels
That bite her cruelly when they overtake her;
See, behind her through the depths of the wood,
Mounted on a black charger,
A dark knight, strong and angry in the face.

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Runs at the woman so,
And she upon her knees, pinned to the earth
By the two mastiffs, cries to him for mercy;
And he thereat drives at her with full strength,
Pierces her breast. But she has lain there
Not long, before, as if she were not dead,
She rises up and she begins again
Her lamentable run towards the sea;
And the two dogs after her, tearing her,
Always and always after her, the knight
Upon his horse again,
And with his sword in hand,
Always threatening her.
Tell me can you interpret me my dream?

D'Annunzio's fame will rest on *La Figlia di Jorio*. We are in dreamland, the country of legends, of fantasia. Why discuss the morality or the consistency of *La Figlia di Jorio*? Why dissect a mosaic? Why correct the perspective of a stained-glass window? In pastoral

rites, mystic worship, and esoteric conjurations, the figures move in hieratic attitude. The mother Candia della Leonessa scatters wheat and benedictions on the heads of her son Aligi and of Vienda, who is soon to be his wife.

Suddenly lust, cruelty, roar outside. Mila di Cadrio, the sorceress, rushes in panting, begging protection from the harvesters, who are maddened by wine and by frenzied desire for her body. She crouches on the sacred hearthstone; Ornella, virgin daughter of the house, bars the door. The mob claims its prey, blood has been shed for her possession. Aligi, the dreamy shepherd bridegroom, lays the crucifix on the threshold, opens the door, and orders the lust-maddened men to refrain. He has seen with his mortal eye the mute angel hovering above Mila and weeping. Awed by the miracle the pursuers depart, and the curtain drops.

The second act shows a cave in the mountain where Aligi and Mila have sought refuge. They are living in the purity of their love, in the fervor of their prayers. The votive lamp burns before the Madonna. Mila feels that Aligi must now return to his home and his flock. "Where wilt thou go?" he queries. She neither knows nor cares. Though her heart is breaking she repeats:

Venuta e l'ora della dipartita
Per la Figlia di Jorio e così sia.

They kneel in prayer. Aligi departs. How delicate the art that traces the girlish figure of Ornella, coming to entreat Mila to depart without reproaches, even tendering provision for the way! Then suddenly the storm breaks. Aligi's father has pursued the coveted prey. Aligi implored, but he will defend Mila. Lazaro's servants carry Aligi away; Mila shrieks: "I loosened his bonds."

In the desolate home Candia della Leonessa, surrounded by a chorus of weeping women, awaits her son Aligi on his way to torture. Aligi drinks the proffered potion that leaves him unconscious. Mila protests that she alone must suffer, she alone has sinned, her witchcraft has armed Aligi's hand. The chorus cry, "Let the sorceress be led to the stake." While Mila in an ecstasy of self-sacrifice cries out, "*La fiamma e bella! la fiamma e bella!*" This is indeed the *Teatro di Poesia*. No synopsis can express the beauty of these lines, the harmony of these colors, the musicality of this verse.

D'Annunzio's *Fedra* has none of the reticence, none of the remorse, found in the French and Greek plays. The Greek Phaedra is a victim of Fate. Racine's Phèdre is the Christian penitent. Both these tragic endings are universally human. But D'Annunzio's Fedra feels none of the religious awe that crushes Pasiphaë's daughter, none of the remorse that rends the soul of the French victim. Everyone must pity the woman who struggles between irresistible passion and an accusing conscience. She arouses such sympathy that there is no place left for criticism. When blinded by passion she offers power and glory to Hippolitus, she does not intend to bribe him. Always she is ready to avoid temptation by suicide. She struggles against the sensuality that she inherits from her mother Pasiphaë and from her father Minos.

In the second act Fedra reclines on panther skins. Hippolitus enters almost naked, after chasing and breaking the horse Arione, and recounts the great feats he meditates. Fedra furiously recoils when Hippolitus proposes an expedition to capture a splendid maid, as compensation for the Theban slave murdered by Fedra. Fedra crawls to where Hippolitus slumbers, caresses his hair and face, ardently kisses his lips; she clings to him, uttering entreaties. Hippolitus flees. Fedra tells Theseus how Hippolitus has violated her. With the dead body of Hippolitus in full view, Fedra proclaims her treachery and Hippolitus' innocence, and, with an invocation to the chaste goddess Diana, drops dead.

The evolution in D'Annunzio's own character is revealed by the evolution in his novels. His youthful novel *Giovanni Episcopo* is his only attempt at pure realism. Giovanni's toleration of his wife's shamelessness is disgusting; and when he accepts the earnings of his Ginevra's infamy, when even his love for Cico, his son, inspires only maudlin maundering, Giovanni ceases to be interesting.

In the novel *Piacere* there are pages to make every modest reader blush; but also there are pages almost religious in their worship of Beauty. Andrea Sperelli is one of the several avatars of the author; Donna Elena Muti is of dangerous beauty and perverse sensuality; and Donna Maria Fleres is a woman of noble heart and high intelligence.

Piacere is a prose poem to Aphrodite sung in modern language. Andrea's passion for Elena is psychopathic. That the lover's pleasure is enhanced by the thought that his mistress shares her favors with her husband is a favorite subject with D'Annunzio. Andrea is wounded

in a duel and recovers in his cousin's villa of Schifanoia. This magnificent villa, dignified by the presence of a high-born gentlewoman Donna Maria, appeals to the loftiest chords in Andrea's soul. When they return to town Andrea continually meets Elena, the embers of his old passion blaze because of her unchastity, and Andrea commits the vileness of loving one woman while in the arms of another. This alluring idea is again reflected in *Le Vergini delle Rocce*, where it requires the love of three sisters to satisfy the erotic "hero." The readers who expected a crescendo of pornography in *Il Trionfo della Morte* were disappointed. The evolution of one idea in one mind, by means of scenes of sensation, is *Il Trionfo della Morte*. An artist predisposed by heredity and sexual debauch to the insanity which leads to suicide.

In the abundance of images, in the unparalleled perfection of style, and in poetical spontaneity, *Il Trionfo* is a masterpiece. The eye or soul of a painter or sculptor has inspired many passages; in others there is the significance of sounds. Every simple scene of country life is exalted. The reapers, singing their farewell hymns, have the majesty of an antique chorus; and the last rays of the setting sun flash upon steel sickles, and the sheaf atop every stack stands up like a golden plume.

Life is intolerable with her and without her. "*Nec sine te nec tecum vivere possum,*" the epigraph upon the French translation, expresses that tragedy of a desire which is unsatisfied in satisfaction. The plot of *L'Innocente* is well developed and a moral thesis is proposed: Has a betrayed husband the right to kill the offspring of his sinful wife? Tullio is capable of every crime, a sybarite and a voluptuary, with uncontrolled will and egoistic soul. The most striking part of the book, the crime itself, is described with great vigor.

Le Vergini delle Rocce is the most original of all D'Annunzio's novels. Here the poet shows his measure; the artist possesses peculiar powers, and the thinker puts forth a complete theory. In a prophetic vision Claudio Cantelmo has seen the three Maiden Princesses who live in the seclusion of their ancient castle of Trigento, and they have allured him with the magic of mystery! Massimilla represents submission. "I am she who listens and admires in silence. . . . On my lips is stamped the invisible form of the word Amen." Anatolia "glows with the tenderness that could save thousands of despairing creatures." "I possess the two supreme gifts that make life grand and

immortal. I am not afraid of suffering and I feel on my thoughts and acts the seal of Eternity." In *Violante* the mystery of beauty is revealed. There could be no conclusion to this poem in prose; when we reach the last page we have enjoyed a complete aesthetic emotion, we are drunk with Beauty.

Fuoco is D'Annunzio's greatest novel. Foscarina the grand tragedienne really loves and desires. Like all women who have been much incensed and much admired she is peculiarly attractive in the hour of her decline. She shares with the sunset on the laguna, with the autumn glory of fiery leafage, and the crumbling magnificence of Venice, the evanescent charm of that which is doomed to disappear. This charm has been rendered by D'Annunzio with a sincerity that is novel. Foscarina does not merely appeal to her lover's senses, she stirs deeper feelings, she is actuated by higher motives.

Foscarina felt herself capable of suffering all the transfigurations that it should please the Life-Giver to work in her for the satisfaction of his own constant desire for beauty. "Her spirit became concave, like a chalice, to receive the wave of his thoughts." This love of Foscarina stops at no sacrifice, not even renunciation. Besides being a story of passion, *Fuoco* is, as is *The Virgins*, a dream of beauty. Venice, the magnificent City of Temptation, has never been sung with so complete comprehension of her manifold beauties. In those canals, as in the veins of a voluptuous woman, the fever of night is kindling. . . . The Molo and the twofold miracle of porticoes open to the popular applause . . . the Riva, unfolding its gentle arch towards the shadowy gardens and the fertile islands, that silent music of motionless lines, the oar measuring the silence, sensitive hands, voluptuous hair.

D'Annunzio's writings and D'Annunzio's personality show that he only partially understood woman. His egoism was almost incredible. For D'Annunzio women were necessary enemies, and since he denied that they really suffer through love he had for them no compassion. Feminine honesty and morality were not important, provided the woman was sensitive and yielded herself in complete surrender. To use his own words, "The most indigestible woman is the one who is called cultured. A woman should possess nothing but sensibility." He devoted all his marvelous powers to the presentation of the "sex-problem," and yet he failed to understand the sphinxlike ambiguities and never to be satisfied longings of women. The desires of the flesh

are not always the mainsprings of a woman's life. The modern woman palpitates and reflects; D'Annunzio's women palpitate. To return from D'Annunzio the writer to D'Annunzio the man: Gabriele d'Annunzio was never anyone's friend. "Where are the friends of his youth?" Leon Koschnitzky asks. "Has he a friend?" "No! It is not in D'Annunzio's power to be a true friend." Friendship presupposes a certain equality—something which for D'Annunzio was an impossibility. Friendship frequently prevents a man from leading his own life. And nothing must prevent D'Annunzio from leading his own life. Friendship wastes time. D'Annunzio could not afford to waste time. It is true that he counted a long list of deceived husbands among his friends, for he was adept at convincing these unfortunate gentlemen by irrefutable proofs of the absolute purity of his relations with their wives. As for the tragic endings to his love affairs, the tragedy was always for the woman, not for the poet.

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CHAPTER XLIV

Survivals of Folk and Popular Plays

IN FLORENCE in the *duecento* there were May festivities over which the *Signor dell'Amore* (Lord of Love) presided; in Bologna they crowned the *Contesse di Maggio* (May countesses), who at Modena and Ferrara were also called *Regine* (May Queens). "It was a very ancient custom," says a Ferrarese diarist of the sixteenth century, "that on the day of the Ascension of our Lord Jesus Christ there used to be erected in various parts of the city certain *pulci* [stages] after the fashion of theatres. In the middle of the said stages sat a young girl charmingly adorned, crowned like a queen, served by many ladies-in-waiting. There were other maidens who, when they saw anyone appear, advanced dancing a certain song which began *Ben venga Maggio*." The Florentine festival of the *Calendimaggio* is represented in an ancient print which serves as frontispiece to the *Canzoni a ballo* of 1568. The custom of "setting up the May" has never died out. One of such songs is the following:

Welcome May

Which has brought the fair flowers;
May it come alike to all;
It has brought the lovely ear of corn,
Grant, Christ, that it may be well filled.

Welcome and welcome May,

For May has now come to us;
And if thou art joyous that she has come to us
Come then out here, thou for whom is the Maying.

From this ancient and widely diffused custom of singing the May, there emerged the dramatic form of the same name.

The *Maggio* is in *stanze* of four verses of eight beats, and the music is a *cantilena*, or slow song, which was recited on a piazza, at the cross-roads, or under the shade of trees. The prologue of the *Maggio* was usually delivered by a little boy, dressed in a short skirt and carrying

in his hands a flowered scepter or a little bouquet. He would make a pretty bow and sing. Thus in the *Maddalena*:

Era indegna peccatrice
A ogni vizio accostumata,
E da molti era lodata,
Come il libro parla e dice.

A worthless sinner she of old,
Experienced in all vice's ways
And many people have her praise,
As in the book is said and told.

The *Maggi* subjects are paladins, saints, and martyrs; they speak to the Tuscan *contadino* of Christ and of those who shed their blood for the faith—

Tristano,
Lancillotto e il forte Orlando
Con il Sir di Montalbano

Tristram,
Lancelot and the strong Orlando
With the Lord of Montalbano

—of Charlemagne and of Saracens and Turks to be conquered. The only wholly modern *Maggio* is that of Louis XVI. In its dramatic form the *Maggio* belongs to the romantic theatre, and is a fragment of history arranged in dialogue. In the *Maggio* each personage comes upon the stage. In the "Bath of Susannah" she "strips herself nearly naked"; the martyrdom of the saints is by burning or decapitation upon the stage. Chronology is ignored. A curtain to the right and one to the left of the stage symbolize hostile armies, who fight in the space between. The sword strokes fall fast; there are grand words and big boastings.

In the *Cleonte e Isabella*:

Or convien che tu ti arrenda:
Trema, io sono il forte Arcano.
Questo acciar che tengo in mano
Non e spada, e falce orrenda.

Now it is fitting thou should'st surrender;
Tremble, I am the mighty Arcano.
This steel which I hold in my hand
Is not a sword, but a horrible scythe.

And in *Louis VI*:

Vostri corpi in queste strade
Serviran di pasto ai cani:

Your bodies in this road
Will serve as food for dogs;

And in *Giant Goliath*:

Ma vedra da queste mani
Vostre viscere sbrante
E la carne insanguinate
Darle in cibo ai cervi, ai cani;

But thou shalt see by these my hands,
Thine entrails torn asunder,
Shalt see them give the bleeding flesh
To stags and dogs to plunder.

The jesting and the comic parts usually fall to the Devil. The *Maggi* that are now performed date no farther back than the early nineteenth century.

In all the Southern provinces of Italy are to be found living survivals of this sacred drama; traditional fêtes in which the people participate. Occasionally the fête is in the church and the preacher describes the events. Sometimes the procession passes through the streets and returns to the church. At Pietrapertosa in Basilicata, the ecclesiastical office of Christmas night is a true liturgical drama; pastorals are sung, bagpipes are played, the star moves through the air from one end of the church to the other, and the Bambino is presented to the people in a little basket full of straw.

At Gagliano in the province of Catanzaro on Good Friday they perform a *Pigghiata* which lasts six hours; the women weep and beat their breasts, and sometimes, all kneeling, they pray and moan. The women's parts are acted by clean-shaven men with ample black mantles. For the arrest, they go out of the village to where the garden of Gethsemane is supposed to be, and a little girl, dressed as an angel, presents the chalice to Jesus. Returning to the piazza the people then witness the trial and scourging; then up a hill is Golgotha, where the two thieves are already crucified, then Christ on the cross is raised, Longinus gives the spear thrust, and from a prepared bladder blood flows forth.

At Capistrello in the Abruzzi the crucifixion is represented. At Arzano near Naples, the Annunciation is also celebrated. Elsewhere they celebrate the festivals of the patron saints. At Palena on the last day of Carnival a man, who represents Death, takes up his position with a great scythe at the door of the church; and then, thus masked, marches along the country roads. At San Giovanni Gualdo the beheading of the Baptist is represented; and Herod, in signing the sentence, dips his pen in a recondite part of the Devil, who serves as inkstand.

In the Ligurian and Piedmontese country, they still arrange Gothic and pagan processions in which the Madonna and the saints appear. A *Passione* is recited every five years at Sordevelo in the Biella region. Very celebrated in the Veneto is the festival of the Rua of Vicenza. In Tuscany, at Lucca, in the church of the Suffragio, a *Mistero* is given a representation composed of painted scenery with life-sized painted figures, showing some event from the New or Old Testament.

Celebrated throughout Tuscany is the procession of *Gesu Morto*, given at Prato in the church of San Francesco where a great transparency is set up, which represents Calvary with the Crucified, and Mary and John at the foot of the cross. The *Processione di Gesu morto* is still held at Grassini and at Galuzzo, in the neighborhood of Florence.

In the tenth century at the time of the *Festa della Maria* ten beautiful Venetian girls, gorgeously dressed and wearing rich jewels, were walking in procession to the Church of Santa Maria della Salute where they were to be married. Suddenly barbarian pirates rushed in and dragged the girls to their galleys, so it is said. The Venetians pursued and slew the abductors and brought back the brides. From that day at the *Festa della Maria* the twelve most beautiful and most virtuous Venetian girls were dressed at the expense of the Republic and were married with a dowry from the public treasury. Because the expense was great, and the choice of the girls caused quarrels, twelve mechanical figures were substituted each year, and the street venders sold small copies of these figures (called "Marionettes," or little Maries) for children to carry. Also they were called *bagatelli* and *magatelli*. Many years later one of the characters famous in the marionette theatre gave them his name "Burattino," and they were called *burattini* and *fantoccini* when articulated and moved by wires.

Bamboccie are operated by a string tied to the knee of the one who moves them. *Pupì*, *pupazzi* have the heads and hands of wood, the body being a cloth pocket for the thumb and middle finger, which move the arms and head. Italian puppets emigrated to foreign countries in the company of charlatans and venders of quack medicine.

In the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries puppets competed with living actors and singers. In Rome during the carnival of 1668 marionettes acted the melodrama *La Comica del cielo*, or *La Baltasara*, by Giulio Rospigliosi, and in 1671 Carlo Leone performed "certain moral puppet *operette*" in a room in Piazza Navona.

Girolamo Cardano in his book *De Subtilitate* says:

"Were I to enumerate all the wonders the little jointed and weighted figures of wood are made to do by means of wires, a whole day would not suffice for it. They fight, hunt, dance, gamble, blow the trumpet, and cook."

Of the puppets threaded through the upper part of the body with a string he says:

"There was no dance, however difficult, that these marionettes were not able to imitate, making the most surprising gestures with their feet, legs, arms, head, and body, and striking many extraordinary attitudes. The incomprehensible consists in the singleness of the string and in its state of continued perfect tension. Often I have seen puppets put into motion by several strings alternately tightened and slackened in which there is nothing wonderful."

Lorenzo de' Medici, son of Grand Duke Ferdinando I, provided his friends with marionette performances in the elegant theatre of Palazzo Ardinghelli in Parione. Piero Iacopo Martelli of Bologna (1666-1727) wrote farces for marionettes (*bambocciate*) of which *Lo Starnuto di Ercole* was perhaps the most perfect sample. Goldoni writes in his *Memorie*:

"The author's lively imagination sent Ercole to the land of the Pigmyes. These little people, appalled at the sight of an animated mountain with arms and legs, hid themselves in their holes. Plan, development, plot, catastrophes, and accidents, all are there; the style is good and well maintained, the thoughts and sentiments all in proportion to the bodies of the personages; the lines too are short, everything announces Pigmyes. A gigantic marionette had to be made for the personage of Ercole; but everything made a good effect and it was a very agreeable amusement."

The marionette theatre reproduced the same characters, dialects, and masks as the *Commedia dell'Arte*. They perpetuated Pantalone, Arlecchini, Pulcinelli, and Dottore, and invented the nimble, strong, white-haired, well powdered, well groomed Roman Cassandrino, who fell in love with all the pretty women. The Venetian Facanapa is insensible to love, does not try "to straighten dogs' legs" but "preserves his belly for figs as long as possible." The eighteenth century was the golden period for the Italian *fantoccini*. Goldoni's attempt to lead the Italian theatre back to ancient traditions was meat indeed to the marionette stage. The new comedies were parodied, the authors and actors caricatured. To the old religious figures and sacred repertoire were added episodes of chivalry, ancient Latin comedies as well as impromptu popular personages.

The space is narrow behind the stage of a puppet theatre; dark and crowded. Colossal crouching phantoms standing on a wooden step back of the curtain work the puppets, while by the light of a tallow candle they read the part from a copybook. Puppets hang from greasy walls; some have contorted arms and legs, caved-in bodies; all look as if they had died of consumption. An ordinary marionette is carved in wood and a wire loop joins the neck and body; the arms from elbow to shoulder and the legs from knee to hip are of cloth. Some marionettes move their eyes, mouths, and fingers. Tartaglia twists his lips; Rogantino shows his teeth; Stenterello scratches his nose with his finger; Carciofo eats and drinks and moves his fingers. The wooden actresses are respectable. The young girl still is chaste, the men are bachelors without reproach.

Tonight the *burattini* play *La Grandiosa opera intitolata Il Belisario ossia le avventure di Oreste, Ersilia, Falsierone Selinguerro ed il terribile Gobbo*. Two puppets dressed in armor speak loudly and flourish gigantic swords. Fantoccino's thrashing sword dislocates the opposing warrior's anatomy. Save by way of emphasis the feet of these warriors never touch the floor. Ferocious Salinguerro shouts, "*Chi sei tu che osi!*" His opponent roars, "*Trema! che son il figli del terribile Gobbo,*" and then collapses into silence. "*Ah, ah!*" the other shouts. "*Male hai fatto a palesarlo non passo piu contenere il mio immenso furor. Preparati a morir!*" And his heels strike the floor. Now ensues a terrible battle. Salinguerro and his lieutenant attack a son of Gobbo, swords clash furiously, legs beat the air, while a drum behind the scenes rolls rapidly. Finally the son of Gobbo is struck down, all is

over. Suddenly clad in complete steel the terrible Gobbo rushes on the stage. The whole army attack him; swinging the length of the stage, while the terrible Gobbo shakes with spasms, and hovers above the heaps of slain. The *fantoccini* ballet is extraordinary. With a tremendous leap the *prima ballerina* appears, knocks her wooden knees together, salutes the audience with a smile, bounds forward, and pausing on her pointed toe turns endless pirouettes in the air.

Most popular of marionettes, Arlecchino speaks Venetian, his dress is of red, blue, violet, and yellow cloth cut in triangles and pieced together from top to bottom. He wears slippers without soles and a black mask with tiny holes to see through. Infamous Brighella, bold with women, cringing with men, overbearing with the weak, cowardly with the strong, handles the knife treacherously; but he has some virtues. Hear his own account of his life:

"Oh, I make no bones about it! . . . At twelve years old I went to prison, at fifteen in the pillory, at twenty to the whipping post, at twenty-five to the galleys. Now I am a hunter and live by what I kill; but none may call me a thief—a clever mathematician rather, who finds things before the owners have lost them. Dear Sior Florindo, by engaging me you will surely win even the most desperate cases. In intrigue I surpass all women; in humbugging, the world's greatest impostors; in evasion, all the gypsies of Egypt; in wrangling, all the lawyers; in business, all the charlatans; in finding expedient, all the musical opera impresarios, and for lies, all of Europe's gazetteers."

Today Brighella rarely assassinates, but he deceives women in love. Brighella also is a serving man, and wears a dark half-mask and black mustaches. He dresses in doublet, pantaloons, and a white cloak with green frogs. The Dottore mask is from Bologna. He knows everything from hearsay, and talks ridiculous nonsense.

Rogantino threatens to eat his enemies alive. He walks by leaps and bounds, and turns his head to see who dares to open his mouth while he is near. When he shakes himself he makes his cartridge box, bayonet, sword, and spurs rattle. Carciofo is a Neapolitan puppet: big of head, lean of body; ruddy, reckless and stupid. His body sways as he walks with bent knees, his head, mouth, eyes, and shoulders moving. He drinks, smokes, eats macaroni, takes the candle from the table to light his pipe. A very ancient marionette is the Diavolo. Indispensable personages in the marionette repertoire on the stage of the wooden dolls, the diabolic offspring Mago, Fata, Genio, and

Mostra still are honored; but Papa Diavolo now plays a very secondary rôle. The other masks of the puppet theatre, Stenterello, Meneghino, Gianduja, Gerolamo, and Tartaglia, are the same as the living actors of the big theatres. Always Pulcinella has been the life and soul of the marionette theatre. His face covered with a black half-mask, his nose hooked, a large mole on his cheek, dressed in a wide white sack, the perfect type of primitive marionette is easily worked with three fingers by an able operator. Pulcinella in Naples, Gerolamo in Milan, Gianduja in Turin, Stenterello in Florence, Brighella and Arlecchino in Venice, and the Dottore in Bologna, as marionettes, have kept alive the memory of the *Commedia dell'Arte*.

The wooden dolls of the Fiando Theatre in Milan were extremely popular during the early nineteenth century. The correspondent of a French newspaper wrote:

"The head, arms, and body of these little figures move with so much grace and in such perfect accord with the sentiment expressed by the voice, that except for proportions one could well have imagined he was witnessing a performance of actors of the *Comédie Française*. The classic tragedy *Nabuccodonosor* was given that evening, and an Anacreontic ballet entitled *Le Delizie di Flora*. The dancers and sylphids of the Paris Opéra, so proud of their fine legs and smiling faces, might well envy these charming wooden people who easily overcome the most terrific difficulties of choreographic art."

In his *Roba di Roma*, William Story tells us of the Roman *burattini* he saw in Piazza Navona. Henri Beyle, better known as Stendhal, describes these Roman puppets:

"It was nine o'clock in the evening when I entered Palazzo Fiano. At the door an individual was shrieking: 'This way, this way, gentlemen. The performance is about to begin.' I paid my half a *paolo* and entered. The fashionable marionette Cassandrino is a sprightly man of fifty or sixty; as active, upright, powdered, clean and alert as a cardinal. Cassandrino would be all virtue did he not fall madly in love with all the women. Cassandrino is of all times and Rome is full of Messieurs like him."

The comedy performed that evening was *Cassandrino allievo d'un pittore*. A Roman artist has a sister, beautiful, young, and honorable. Cassandrino enters the house under pretense of protecting the artist; he falls in love with the beautiful girl. He talks about music and sings

a *cavatina* he has heard in a concert. The *cavatina* by Paesiello was exquisitely sung behind the scenes by a girl of the "company." But while the old man is warbling the artist arrives and turns Cassandrino out. The lover reappears disguised as a student with dyed hair and false mustache. After many absurd adventures Cassandrino takes the old-maid aunt, who once was intimate with him, as his housekeeper and thus becomes in a way the girl's "protector." Stendhal also describes the Florentine marionettes he saw at the house of a rich merchant. Upon a stage barely five feet wide, twenty-four beautifully made puppets eight inches high acted Machiavelli's *Mandragora*.

In Genoa the *burattini* are made of wood from two to three feet tall with large heads, glaring eyes, and clad in tinsel, velvet, and steel. The plays are startling in incident, wars of the Paladins, tragedies of the Middle Ages, warriors who rescue injured damsels, and are equally admirable in love and war. In the southern provinces of Italy large towns hardly know other dramatic performances than those of the marionette.

Before the war there were many companies of *fantoccini* all over Italy. Now they are fewer. The ballets became regular choreographic performances with elaborate scenic effects and good orchestral music. To the ballet dancers have been added gymnasts, acrobats, and jugglers. The public of the wooden dolls has changed. As the marionette was the most ancient actor, so the marionette theatre is the most modern. Just as the puppets were transformed when ancient society became modern society and pagans became Christians, and from being ecclesiastical and ritual they became laymen and artistic; just as Macco and Centunculo first became the Almighty and the prophet Daniel and Pulcinella and Arlecchino, so now they tend to become political ministers and deputies. In all ages the marionettes have closely followed the transformations of the theatre and of society.

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CHAPTER XLV

The Twentieth Century

THE literary history of Italy has been greatly affected by the political developments since 1920. Hence a brief examination of the forces which led to the rise of Fascism and a review of the ends it seeks to attain may suggest the probable Italian course of literature in the immediate future.

The first census of Italy was taken on December 31, 1861, and in 1863 the regular compilation of statistics was begun. The following are some of the general conditions that were revealed. Of the twenty-two million inhabitants living within the frontiers of Italy as then constituted, of those who had passed the age of five, three out of four could neither read nor write. In 1866 government receipts were considerably less than half the expenditures with which to multiply schools for the illiterate, renovate sanitation and hygiene, and appropriate money for public works. A sleeping Italy is a country of the past. Italy is a country alive to the grave difficulties which confront it and to the urgent needs of its people.

The increment of population in Italy, the excess of natality over mortality is continuous, and presents every probability of long duration, and it should be kept in mind that the four hundred and thirty thousand annual increment is also child-bearing, so that the process of demographic growth in a healthy country like this goes forward progressively. Are the natural resources of the country sufficient to maintain this ever rapidly increasing population? This is Italy's great problem. In 1861 there were about twenty-six million Italians; today there are one hundred and forty-one million resident in the peninsula.

Vast mountainous zones of the Alps and the Apennines are quite uninhabitable, as also are various unhealthy marshlands. Some of the latter are being reclaimed, but the mountain ledges can never be made habitable, and Italy cannot continue much longer to maintain the increasing number of her citizens within the narrow boundaries of her own territory. In 1861 in United Italy as then constituted,

three-quarters of the population over five years of age were illiterate. Today about one-quarter is illiterate. The problem all along has been that of educating the children without arousing hatred of instruction among the more ignorant. The child's labor in the fields has an economic value. The child mill operative can bring in his quota of earnings to help in the daily struggle for existence, if employed in the silk and cotton factories. Italy is an agricultural country. A country that is able to develop flourishing industries can support a population two or three times as great as a country of equal size which is purely agricultural. Italy is poor in natural resources, particularly in coal, iron, and wood. Abundant supplies of fuel, obtainable at a low price, are a major factor of successful competition in industry. What are the limits to possible total development of electric energy in Italy? That hydroelectric energy is efficiently produced, and that the companies are not extortionate in its sale is shown by the fact that, calculated on a gold basis, its price has been for years lower in Italy than in any other country in the world.

Mussolini's slogan of "Work and Discipline" has rescued Italy from chaotic social conditions and has established industrial order and peace. If Italy could obtain her raw materials from new colonies she would be able to absorb more of her manufactures at home without prejudicing her balance of international payments. Can the feeding of the growing industrial population be secured by an increased output of domestic agricultural products? Or must grain be imported in additional quantities which will weigh adversely in the balance of international trade? Against this must be reckoned the money sent back to Italy by emigrants and the tourist trade. In 1914 at the outbreak of the war Italy held eighth place among the mercantile marines of the world. Today she competes with France for fourth place. Emigrant remittances are decreased, owing to the recent pronounced falling off of emigration because of new restrictive legislation in Italy and of the rigid limitation of immigration in preferred foreign countries. These are some of the reasons why Italy needs to acquire new colonial territory possessing abundant raw materials.

The great era of emigration has passed. Italy has already tasted and renounced the fruits of socialism, which after ripening for some years matured in the summer and autumn of 1922, when with general and local strikes, and communistic occupation of the factories and of agricultural prosperity, labor ruined itself and drove capital into

concealment. With the economic peace which followed the advent of Fascism came prosperity. In the past, emigration on a large scale has been the huge safety-valve by which equilibrium in the labor market has been maintained. Italian emigration began in considerable volume shortly after the unification of the peninsula in 1861. Now the peasants are obliged to remain at home and till the soil. And at home the standard of living has risen and continues to rise, so that the peasant can lead a more hygienic and enlightened existence.

The growth of the colonial spirit in the Italians has been gradual but continuous. The Great War brought a further awakening of Italian national spirit, a firmer belief in the achievements of a Greater Italy. The colonies which Italy now holds offer little relief to the pressure of an excess population. In all Somaliland, for example, the climate is such that the white laborer cannot live in the fields, and native labor is so scarce and indolent as to barely suffice for the cultivation which the indigenes are already carrying on for the satisfaction of their own domestic needs, and for the few enterprises already initiated by Italians. The Italian disappointment over the treaty of Versailles led to profound discouragement. Disorganization spread rapidly throughout the country; general strike followed general strike. Many factories were taken possession of by the workmen. Communists occupied municipal buildings, raising the red flag and remaining in undisturbed possession. War veterans were reviled and maltreated, and army officers could walk in the public streets in uniform only at their peril. This was the chaos which Fascism sought to cure.

Since the first Fascio was formed at Milan, March 23, 1919, under the leadership of Benito Mussolini, its control of every aspect of Italian life has steadily grown until now it is complete. It has perfected the organization and discipline of the people until the country has been given a unity and a cohesion never before attained. Italy has become an instrument of power in international affairs. Sacrifice of other values has been made, but one must hope that this is only a temporary phenomenon.

The Italian people will surely survive its errors and those of its rulers. In this fact those who believe that the laws of human progress are inexorable must find comfort. It must allay their alarm at the total decay of constitutional government in Italy at this moment. To

understand the inner spirit of the nation, one should read Tivasoni's admirable history of what he believes to be the regeneration of contemporary Italy. Fortified by such evidence as he gives, an historian can look forward with confidence to new triumphs in the literary history of the Italian people.

